Culture, Mind, and Society

The Cultural Context of Emotion

Folk Psychology in West Sumatra

Karl G. Heider

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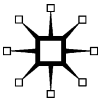

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Contents

List of Figures and Tables vii

Acknowledgments ix

Chapter 1 Preface 1

Chapter 2 Introduction 13

Chapter 3 Minangkabau Folk Psychology 47

Chapter 4 Minangkabau Emotion Theory 89

Chapter 5 Eleven Minangkabau Emotion Clusters 113

Chapter 6 Conclusions 205

Appendix: Figurative Speech Examples (Indonesian language examples precede Minangkabau language examples) 221

Glossary 227

Bibliography 231

Index 245

Figures and Tables

Figures

2.1	Map of Emotion Words in Minangkabau	22
2.2	Map of Emotion Words in Indonesian Spoken by Minangkabau	24
2.3	The Flow of Emotion, early 1980s	28
2.4	The Flow of Emotion, 2000	28
5.1	Sombong—"arrogance, pride"	120
5.2	Malu—"shame, guilt"	128
5.3	Takut—"fear, shame"	143
5.4	Tersinggung—"offended"	147
5.5	Marah—"anger"	152
5.6	Dendam—"hidden enmity, holding a grudge"	167
5.7	Terkejut—"surprise"	171
5.8	Rindu—"nostalgic longing"	176
5.9	Nafsu—"desire, lust, driving ambition"	186
5.10	Kasih, Cinta, Sayang, Asmara—"love, nurturance, pity"	194
5.11	Dengki/Iri/Cemburu—"envy, jealousy"	199

Tables

3.1	Pak A's schema of cerdik (cadiak), tahu, and pandai (with my English translations)	66
5.1	Is this word an emotion (perasaan), an attribute (sifat), or a condition (keadaan)?	116
5.2	Pak A's scheme of the short- and long-term outcomes of three Minangkabau "anger" words	153
5.3	Antecedents and outcomes of words in the "love" cluster	196
5.4	Pak A's schema of the "love" cluster	197

6.1 The strongest and weakest way-stations emotion clusters. Percentages of outcomes that are other emotions 217

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Chapter 1

Preface

Emotions permeate life. We feel them, we express them, we conceal them, we attribute them to others, they drive us to wars, and they drive us to make and to break alliances on grand scales and on intimate scales. Long ago, Gregory Bateson claimed that emotion was so central to social life that no study of cultural behavior could be adequate unless it took into account the emotional factor.

This book is an ethnographic study of emotion and folk psychology based on nearly three years of extensive observations, interviews, and videotaping of some Minangkabau, members of a matrilineal Moslem group living in West Sumatra, Indonesia. The first two years of the study was done in the mid-1980s and has been reported in an earlier book (Heider 1991a). After finishing that first report, I returned for a total of eight months between 1997 and 2001 for a follow-up study using different methods and asking new questions to examine emotions in the much broader context of Minangkabau folk psychology.

Where the first book was based on questionnaire data, this book draws on open-ended interviews that provide greater contextualization of emotions within the folk psychology of Minangkabau. The transformation of my methodology is paralleled by new data on the dynamics of emotion behavior. The most significant discoveries emerging from this round of research were suggested in the earlier work and concerns the relations between emotions: first, the nuanced differences between closely related emotions; second, the ways in which one emotion may escalate into another; and third, the ways in which one emotion may trigger quite a different emotion (drawing on first millennium C.E. Rasa Theory from north India).

As ethnography, I focus on certain aspects of Minangkabau psychology. Scholars, both Minangkabau themselves and outsiders, have been writing about Minangkabau culture for well over a century, but their gaze has been directed especially toward questions of social and political organization. The Minangkabau are the largest group in the world who are both Muslim and matrilineal. This apparent contradiction between a patriarchal religion and a social

organization that emphasizes descent and inheritance through the female line has long challenged ethnographers.

But any ethnography is of necessity only a partial picture of a culture, and that picture is shaped by many factors, including the research interests of the ethnographer. This present description of Minangkabau viewed from the perspective of emotion differs from Minangkabau ethnographies that have been approached through other interests such as the roles of women, the intellectual accomplishments of women and men, the pattern of out-migration, and other social, political, and economic topics. Not surprisingly, most of the information about psychology and emotions that we discuss here is barely mentioned by the other ethnographers of the Minangkabau, and in turn I have not attempted to recapitulate all that they have said about their concerns.

Although the focus of this research has been on emotions—or, to be more precise, on the Indonesian realm of perasaan—the open-ended interviews often led us from talk about emotions to broader concepts of folk psychology that are closely related to emotions. These concepts included both Minangkabau understandings of psychological behavior and Minangkabau rules for dealing with such behavior. But let me quickly emphasize that this is not meant to be a comprehensive investigation of all realms of Minangkabau folk psychology. Yet, after my earlier research methodology, which forced people to stay narrowly on the emotion tasks, I was quite surprised at how widely these emotion discussions ranged.

This is to a great extent an informant-led account, and, in addition to the ethnographic contributions, there are several general theoretical issues that emerged.

The Cultural Context of Emotions

The overwhelming preponderance of studies of emotion have viewed emotions singly or in groups quite apart from any broader cultural setting. This is understandable in that these studies have been mainly carried out by psychologists, philosophers, sociologists, and historians looking at their own cultures and writing for other members of those cultures. It must seem reasonable when investigators, subjects, and readers share more or less the same culture, that it should not seem important to make much of the culture itself. The significant examples of anthropologists like Jean Briggs writing on Inuit emotions (1970), or Michelle Rosaldo on Ilongot emotions (1980), to

mention just two of the earliest, have been effectively ignored by most emotion scholars outside of anthropology. In fact, my own earlier work in the 1980s on Minangkabau emotion (1991a) was based primarily on questionnaires of one sort or another that isolated emotions, demanded short answers, and gave the respondents little room for elaboration. In order to go beyond my own earlier and somewhat narrow focus on single emotions, during this second round of research in 2000 and 2001, I used fairly unstructured questions to trigger the solo and focus-group discussions. The results are a much richer description of emotions and lead into quite unanticipated information about Minangkabau ideas of the psychological processes relating to emotions—their own folk psychology.

This concern with the emic, or native categories and understanding has long been a hallmark of anthropology. There is now an important literature on folk psychology, especially including emotions, beginning with Jean Briggs on Inuit (1970, 1998), Robert Levy on Tahiti (1973), and Michelle Rosaldo on Ilongot (1980) and including, to cite just a few of the earlier works, Catherine Lutz on Ifaluk (1988), Hollan and Wellenkamp on Toraja (1994, 1996), Lila Abu-Lughod on Bedouin (1986), and the contributions to the seminal volume edited by Geoffrey M. White and John Kirkpatrick (1985).

These range in approach from Jean Briggs's prototypical participant observation, where she found herself immersed in Inuit life and was the catalyst for significant emotion behavior, to those based on more systematic interviewing like the Hollan and Wellenkamp books and my own Minangkabau studies (1991a, and this volume). But whatever the methodological emphasis, emotion was studied, discussed, and observed in its cultural context.

Meanwhile, in a familiar scholarly division of labor, psychologists have tended to work on more specific, isolated aspects of emotions. I do not want to exaggerate disciplinary differences. Anthropologists are paying attention to psychologist's models, and psychologists are taking into account cultural influences on emotion behavior. Such meetings as those of the International Society for Research on Emotion bring scholars of many disciplines and countries into cross-fertilizing exchanges, and interdisciplinary collaborative research is becoming more common.

In my own research, dealing with emotions one at a time made sense at least in the beginning of the study. Isolated emotions are a convenient heuristic fiction, and as a result of research in this mode, the immediate dynamics of emotion are well understood. They are

fairly straightforward and probably show little cultural influence. That is, the standard emotion scenario is initiated by some sort of appraisal of an antecedent event and proceeds to various possible behavioral outcomes with some culture-specific influences along the way (see below, p. 28 for more detail).

But here, taking a broader view of Minangkabau-folk emotion, there are some surprises. For example, there is the idea that the emotions, situated in a person's liver, enforce propriety on the ever-questing brain that in its logic imagines all possibilities (see p. 56). And where there is an old tradition in Western folk psychology, dating back at least to Hippocrates, that climate influences personality, the Minangkabau say that topography—the hills and plains of their Sumatran homeland—shapes personality (see pp. 80–3). To venture into a description of culturally based emotion in ignorance of the overarching folk psychology is to miss a great deal. Neither of these concepts showed up in my questionnaire-based work during the first round of research.

Describing Emotions: Elegance versus Complexity

Chapter 4 is devoted to explorations of 11 emotion clusters, drawing directly on the interview transcripts. One possible approach to describing and defining emotions would be to present elegant, stripped-down definitions of the emotions. Anna Wierzbicka and her colleagues have taken this route, employing what they call a "natural semantic metalanguage," a set of culture-neutral words, to lay out the essential meaning of an emotion word (e.g., Goddard 1996, Wierzbicka 1999). For example, Wierzbicka presents "anger," as in "X was angry (with Y)" as follows:

> (a) X felt something because X thought something
> (b) sometimes a person thinks about someone:
> (c) "this person did something bad
> (d) I don't want this person to do things like this
> (e) I want to do something because of this"
> (f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
> (g) X felt something like this
> (h) because X thought something like this. (1999:88)

Here, however, I have gone in the opposite direction, eschewing elegance in favor of the complexity, variation, and cultural

embeddedness that is apparent when real people discuss their understanding of emotion words in their own language and culture.

Emotion and Political Life

The study of emotion informs the understanding of politics. Emotion reaches into all human behavior and politics is not exempt. But despite all that has been written about politics in Indonesia, emotion behavior is almost totally ignored. To show the utility of an emotion perspective on politics, I have elsewhere (Heider n.d.) examined Indonesian-newspaper headlines for a few critical weeks in September and October 2001, from the immediate aftermath of the terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11 to the beginning of the American bombing of Afghanistan. Emotion words figure prominently in these headlines. I argue that the manipulation of emotion plays a powerful role in the political arena, far beyond some immediate face-to-face interpersonal interactions, and must be seen in the cultural context to be appreciated.

The Concept of Culture

The concept of culture must be addressed by work on emotion. To the extent that emotion scholars from outside anthropology have tried to do cross-cultural, comparative work, they have almost invariably confounded culture with society. "Society" refers to organized groups of individuals of various sizes and at various levels. West Sumatrans or British Columbians are each defined by membership in a social unit called a province. At the next higher level, Indonesians, or Canadians, are each defined by membership in a maximal social unit called a nation. On the other hand, "culture" refers to learned, shared ideas (or schemas) about behavior. If we think of one of the most obvious cultural traits, language, we see clearly how society and culture are rarely coterminous: not all Canadians speak English, and not all English speakers are Canadian. Yet many cross-cultural studies of emotion select and define their subjects in social terms like "Indonesian" or "Malaysian." But purporting to look for a culture-specific pattern among subjects who likely have different cultural patterns is illogical. By aggregating such culturally varied responses, the cultural specifics are flattened out and the likelihood of recognizing particular emotion patterns is diminished. The point is the necessity

to identify subjects by culture, not nationality, if one hopes to discover cultural patterning. In the first round of this research, in the 1980s, I defined my population as native speakers of Minangkabau, aged from mid-teens to their sixties, and I balanced them for gender. But in the course of that research it seemed to me that even such a fairly constricted cultural group included people with significantly different cultural ideas. Clearly, Minangkabau would have somewhat different schemas of emotion depending on such factors as age, social status, economic class, and the district of the heartland in which they grew up. So, in order to get an even more tightly defined culture, in this second round I concentrated on middle-aged, middle-class Minangkabau from one city, Bukittinggi. During the time of my fieldwork in West Sumatra, I taught various anthropology courses at Universitas Andalas in Padang. In 2001, I was teaching Antropologi Psikologi and often tried out the concepts I had been learning about on my students, virtually all of whom were Minangkabau but a generation or two younger than those I was interviewing. I was continually surprised to find that the students did not recognize most of the key concepts that I describe here. (And I suppose that they were bemused by my interest in such esoteric knowledge.) I do not know if these students will eventually learn more about Minangkabau in the next decades, or if what I was hearing from their elders represents the fast disappearing knowledge of their parents' generation. This underscores the importance of locating one's informants in precise cultural terms when looking for cultural patterns.

But even by defining my target culture relatively narrowly, there is still variation. To say that culture is shared is still an approximation. As anyone who has been a member of a large family knows, even people who have grown up together may have varying understandings of emotion. One solution is to quantify the data, work on modal schemas, and discount the variation, as I did in the first stage of this study (Heider 1991a). But now, after having defined the culture fairly narrowly, I have taken seriously the variations that did come up. By quoting at length from the interviews—especially the focus-group discussions—I have tried to capture the actual sorts of agreements and disagreements found among this small set of Minangkabau.

Culture: Imagined, Real, Psychological?

Having declared that my primary approach is to the cultural aspects of emotion, it is necessary to specify the nature of the data: they

are primarily what certain Minangkabau reported to a particular American anthropologist singly and in groups. During this round of research I made little attempt to actually observe or record emotion behavior in itself. Instead, I report what was told to me. For the most part, I could check out each statement against others. I present here a fairly consistent picture, albeit one with some variation and even contradictions. But in the end, we have what people reported about their emotions and other psychological features.

What Is Emotion? Perasaan?

Despite all the research on it, we do not have a good definition of emotion. There are painfully formal statements, there are discursive discussions of the various aspects of emotions (see below, p. 28), there are attempts to distinguish between, say, emotion and feeling, and there are tautological "definitions" (e.g., emotion means affect, affect means emotion). Yet, both Americans and Indonesians readily respond to questions asking if particular words are emotions or perasaan. Perasaan is an Indonesian word derived from the Sanskrit, that is a close equivalent to the English word emotion (see below pp. 113–4). However, one would not necessarily expect the realm of "emotion" in English to cover the same cognitive ground as even the nearest term in another language. And in fact, Robert Levy reported that there is no term at all for emotion in Tahitian (1973:271). And to complicate things even further, my data from the 1980s showed subtle but significant differences in the way native Minangkabau and Javanese speakers understand what is supposedly one (national) language, Indonesian. I suggest that it is most likely that "native speakers" of English have somewhat different understanding of "emotion" in English depending on whether they are South Carolinians, New Yorkers, English, Australian, or Singaporeans. We shall be dealing with the essential ambiguity of this realm of emotion throughout the following chapters.

Matriliny

Matriliny is a seventh issue of theoretical importance addressed by these data. There is no question that the Minangkabau have a matrilineal social organization, that is to say, one organized around the principle of descent through the female line. A person is born into

their mother's clan and the houses, land, and symbolic heirlooms are owned by the women of the clan and passed down from mother to daughter. Until recently the rule would be for children to grow up in or near the household of their matriclan members. Even for married men, their primary residence would be that of their clan, and they would be responsible for their sisters' children, while their wives' children would be raised by their brothers-in-law. A person does have special ties to their father's clan (the bako), and for those moving to cities all kin ties may be attenuated. But the traditional matrilineal pattern is still the rule in villages.

Ethnographers who have lived in Minangkabau villages and have sought out women to study matriliny have found it and have written convincingly about it. However, most of my informants had moved to Bukittinggi from their villages, and although they maintained some ties with village and clan, they had already taken the first steps away from full involvement with their matrilineal system. My own research focused on emotions. I did regularly ask about gender differences in emotion, but I did not concentrate on matriliny. Although peoples' responses often harked back to their own sort of "ethnographic present," picturing life in remembered or imagined villages, they rarely spoke about matriliny per se. So, compared with the village-based ethnographies, in this picture of Minangkabau culture we find relatively little talk about matriliny.

This takes us beyond the question of how an investigator's gender may influence their findings, of female ethnographers who might see matriliny as the important organizing theme in Minangkabau culture versus male ethnographers who might downplay it. We shall see that matriliny is crucial in some areas of Minangkabau life, but less so in others.

Islam

Islam is an eighth issue of theoretical importance here. There has never been any doubt about the role of Islam in Minangkabau culture. The situation is very different from that of Java, where, after generations of downplaying Islam as "a thin veneer" over a fundamentally Hindu-Buddhist culture, scholars have now come to recognize the essentially Islamic nature of Javanese culture (see Woodward 1989, Hefner 1997, and Lukens-Bull 2005). Indian traders from Gujarat brought Islam to Sumatra and by the early sixteenth century the Minangkabau coastal port of Tiku was strongly Muslim. During the

next two centuries, Islam spread up into the mountainous heartland. The animism of those Minangkabau who were most involved with the gold and spice trade became Islamized (Dobbin 1983:119). The Padri movement (1803–1832) was inspired by pilgrims returning from Mecca in 1803 with news of the dramatic rise of the Wahabi revivalism. The so-called Padri Wars firmly established Islam as the religion of the entire population of the heartland. Since then Minangkabau have been firmly and unanimously Muslim. We shall see people frequently citing the authority of Islam as they discuss emotion. But this leads to the next theoretical issue.

Cultural Consistency

This has long been an assumption of ethnographic description, and at least since Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (1934) has usually been an overt claim of anthropology. But the Minangkabau have been considered a prototype of cultural inconsistency. How could a matrilineal social organization function with a patriarchal religious system? The Minangkabau anthropologist, Taufik Abdullah, argued (1966) that it was much too simplistic to reduce Minangkabau to a conflict between tradition (*adat*) and Islam. He pointed to many different conflicts inherent in Minangkabau even before the advent of Islam: royalty versus commoners, heartland versus periphery, egalitarian versus autocratic villages, bride's family versus groom's family. And then Islam, as well as the Dutch, brought out or introduced internal conflicts. This is not the place to explore all of Abdullah's ideas, but we shall see these Minangkabau explaining apparent contradictions between, for example, the Muslim condemnation of hypocrisy and the Minangkabau value of being able to mask one's true feelings. It is an example of how people claim or rationalize cultural consistency even when outsiders may perceive cultural inconsistencies.

Figurative Speech

George Lakoff and Zoltan Kovesces brought metaphor into the study of emotion and folk psychology by showing that English metaphors for anger were based on an embodied image of hot liquid held in or escaping from a container ("that made my blood boil," "I blew up at him") (1987). Kovesces subsequently pointed to a number of other

unrelated languages with similar patterns for metaphors (1995). Minangkabau figurative speech conspicuously lacks such a theme, but an examination of a Minangkabau collection of such phrases, together with a foray into eighteenth-century English literature, suggests how such figurative speech, rather than having universal aspects, reflects the particular cultural environment.

Unique Culture-Specific Emotions

Unique culture-specific emotions are an eleventh theoretical issue. This lies somewhere between a position that all human emotion is the same regardless of the cultural setting, and the position that each culture has a unique set of emotion behaviors. Neither of these extremes is taken seriously today, but there is still interest in ransacking the ethnographic literature for what seem to be culturally unique emotions. Amae (a sort of Japanese dependency—[Doi 1973]) and fago (a Micronesian compassion/love/sadness [Lutz 1988]) are some examples of this. Minangkabau do not offer such nuggets, but I have identified a structural relationship that is particularly unusual (1991a:97ff). Some emotions, that I call end stations, are often preceded by and triggered by other emotions that I call way stations. This is evocative of first millennium C. E. Hindu poetics called Rasa Theory, in which actors portray one emotion on stage in order to evoke a second emotion in the audience. It may well have been brought to Sumatra during the period of the Hindu kingdoms there. In chapter 4, where a few emotions are discussed in detail, I present evidence or at least hints of such linkages between emotions.

Individualism and Groupism

Individualism and groupism constitute a twelfth theoretical issue raised by this ethnography. Cultures have been characterized by the ways in which they conceptualize people: some are more individualistically oriented while others are more concerned with a person's group status. This distinction has been proposed often in anthropological studies and has proven useful in emotion studies. It has even been incorporated as a basic principle in cross-cultural psychological studies. Despite the uneasiness that such essentializing generalizations arouse in many scholars, the paradigm holds. Indonesian cultures tend to emphasize group affiliation and downplay individualism.

But, as we shall see in these Minangkabau data, there are significant exceptions, and the situation is somewhat nuanced.

Empathy and Concealment

Running through the interviews we see a concern for heightening empathy—the ability to understand another's feelings—as well as its opposite, the ability to conceal one's own feelings from others.

Data relevant to each of these issues emerges throughout the next chapters, and we shall return to these several issues in the final chapter.

Approaching Emotions with the Wisdom of the Rice

This research began with a broadly formulated problem: What do people think about emotion? And how do they talk about it? What are the nuances of meanings that a culture puts on emotion? This book is the second stage of a two-decade-long project that is designed to explore emotion in the case of a specific culture, the Minangkabau of West Sumatra, Indonesia. In the first stage of this research, in the mid-1980s, I had explored "the landscapes of emotion," (1991a), mapping out the emotion words used by Minangkabau and identifying their scenarios for the behavior appropriate to various emotions. My research tools were primarily questionnaires with short answers, filled out by hundreds of Minangkabau. Their responses were short, quantifiable, and referred directly to the emotion words themselves. In this second stage, I have used extensive open-ended interviews with 3 solo subjects and 18 other Minangkabau in four focus groups. This has produced richer data on emotions and has situated them in the much broader context of folk psychology.

These new data are less quantifiable, but the voices of nearly two dozen Minangkabau men and women are clearly heard. These people have been my guides as they patiently responded to my inquiries. As they spoke to me they often broke away from emotion behavior narrowly construed to lead me into the broader psychological realm in which emotions are situated. The title of this book could well have been "Exploring the Landscapes of Emotion," playing off the title of the 1991 book, for it does represent a sequel, a further exploration of the first findings. Or I could have chosen a Minangkabau

term from their rich repertoire of figurative speech, "The Wisdom of the Rice." The phrase illustrates humility (see p. 51). Here it not only indicates the importance of listening to Minangkabau themselves, but also serves as a reminder that this book is only one more step toward understanding Minangkabau emotion and folk psychology.

Chapter 2

Introduction

Presenting the Case

Having staked out the holistic position that emotion thought, talk, and behavior pervade cultural life, I cannot backtrack and present a neat story line. In order to prevent these materials from collapsing into a mere hodgepodge of information, a laundry list of bits and pieces, I must beg the reader's indulgence as we follow emotion behavior into many settings of Minangkabau life. We begin with a brief ethnographic sketch of the Minangkabau.

Minangkabau Culture

There are some 5 million people who identify themselves as Minangkabau. Most live in their traditional heartland, three fertile basins in the volcanic highlands of West Sumatra, and in the area around Padang, the provincial capital on the coast. Irrigated rice fields are everywhere in the more level areas, terraced fields climb the lower slopes, and vegetables are grown on steeper hillsides. In the early nineteenth century, when the Dutch were expanding into the highlands, the Minangkabau exported coffee, tea, and spices like black pepper, cloves, mace, and nutmeg, and cassia, a cinnamon-like bark. Christine Dobbin points out that from the 1790s into the 1820s, "Eight to ten American ships called at Padang every year" (1983:96). They carried mainly coffee and cassia bound for the luxury trade in Europe and the United States. For several centuries before the nineteenth century gold had been a major Minangkabau product. Dobbin shows how the old Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Minangkabau had controlled the gold production and marketing, but by the early nineteenth century the gold was giving out, a new revivalistic Islam was sweeping the area, and power shifted to the villages on the slopes that could produce coffee and spices. By the

1820s, the Dutch had gained control of the heartland, where they established military, commercial, and administrative centers and expanded their trade monopolies. It is not clear just how the heartland was organized or how thoroughly Islam had taken hold in the eighteenth century. Presumably there were small sociopolitical units called negari, and presumably they were nominally under the rule of the Hindu kingdom centered at Pagaruyung. With the final dissolution of the Hindu kingdom, these negari remained the basic territorial unit of Minangkabau. They probably had a thousand or two inhabitants living in dispersed settlements near their rice fields. Even today, after several reorganizations under the Dutch and then the Republic of Indonesia, the image persists of the negari as strong, proud, politically independent, and culturally distinct.

Minangkabau are fiercely egalitarian. People often quoted the saying, "Sitting equally low, standing equally high" (duduak samo randan, tagak samo tinggi). That is, all people are equal. But at the same time there is an awareness of inequality in wealth and in prestige. I once asked my three Minangkabau research assistants to rank a number of families that we all knew well. They insisted on using two scales, one of wealth and the other based on aristocratic (*bangsawan*) ancestry. They easily agreed among each other about the rankings. I was not at all surprised at the first, the ranking by wealth, for by then I could pick up on those relatively subtle nuances. But I had not predicted the second ranking, that based on family prestige. Some of the very poorest families turned out to be from old aristocratic lines, while some of the rich were only newly so.

Probably as recently as the nineteenth century there had been a clear distinction between aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. Although this has long since been officially abolished, memories are long. Occasionally in interviews people would refer to the low status of recent arrivals who were usually assumed to have been driven out of their previous homes in disgrace.

I often recognized similarities between Minangkabau and the United States: two cultures extolling equality, yet recognizing social inequalities based on birth and achievement. We shall see this opposition especially clearly in the discussion of *sombong*, "arrogance," where the same people held that the superiority of the arrogant person is accepted as real, and is denied as illusion.

The Hindu period is hardly remembered today, although some traces remain. There are a few stone pillars and gravestones, possibly dating from a pre-Hindu period, but they have been incorporated into Muslim graves or ignored. The last time I visited Pagaruyung,

where a grand palace was built in the 1980s as a tourist attraction, I heard a guide describing the last Hindu king as a Muslim. Traces of the Hindu period are found in the numerous Sanskrit words used in both Indonesian and Minangkabau and, I shall suggest below, some echoes of the Sanskrit poetics, Rasa Theory.

The most distinctive features of the Minangkabau heartland are not the volcanoes or the rice fields but the Great Houses, the rumah gadang, with their multiple upswept roof ends. One folk explanation for the roof form identifies the peaks with water buffalo horns, evoking the very name Minangkabau (kabau means water buffalo). Actually, throughout Southeast Asia, on the mainland as well as on the islands, many cultures have elaborated their roofs by jutting the ridge poles far out, arcing them, or adding finials to the peaks. But Minangkabau roofs are the most distinctive. By the twenty-first century it was difficult to find new rumah gadang being built. Some new banks and hotels incorporated the multiple-peaked roofs, and they were often used in commercial logos. But even in villages new dwellings are increasingly built for single families, not, as rumah gadang, as housing for matrilineal clan segments. This is a telling indication of the weakening of the matrilineal clan system.

Some 2 million Minangkabau have migrated out (*merantau*) beyond the heartland of the province, a pattern for which the Minangkabau are famous. The migrants send money back to the heartland to support family and community, so that in recent decades there has been relatively little sign of poverty. In other parts of Indonesia, Minangkabau are especially visible because of the restaurants specializing in "Padang Food," an excellent, spicy fast food. By the turn of the millennium, Indonesia as a whole was suffering from a combination of ecological, economic, and political problems, but the Minangkabau seemed to be less affected than most other groups. Ecologically, smoke from the great forest fires of central Sumatra were being blown away from the heartland, toward the northeast, blanketing much of Malaysia and the east coast of Sumatra (at least during my stays in 2000 and 2001). Economically, West Sumatra had never developed a Bali-level tourist industry, so the drop in tourists, exacerbated by political unrest and communal violence in some parts of Indonesia, had little effect. And politically, West Sumatra had already become increasingly disaffected and marginalized from national politics since the unsuccessful war of secession in the late 1950s (see Kahin and Kahin 1995), so the political chaos leading up to and following the fall of President Suharto in 1998 had few reverberations for most Minangkabau.

Although the Minangkabau are no longer major players on the national scene of the Republic of Indonesia, they are very aware that during the first half of the twentieth century they were prominent in national politics as well as in the modern arts of novel and film. They had already bought into the Dutch colonial education system in the nineteenth century (Graves 1981), and their influence was further amplified by the strategic choice of nationalists in the 1920s to promote a generalized Malay language as the medium of nationalism (instead of the difficult Javanese spoken by a majority of the population of the archipelago). This national language, Bahasa Indonesia, was so close to Bahasa Minangkabau that the Minangkabau had a real head start compared, for example, to the Javanese, who had to learn Indonesian as a second language.

But the most striking fact about the Minangkabau for outsiders, at least, is that they manage to be both Muslim and matrilineal. The apparent contradiction of a strongly patriarchal religion combined with a society organized around matrilineal clans has long fascinated anthropologists. Such cultural contradiction has been a challenge to an anthropology that tends to look for cultural consistency. Actually, in 1946, Ruth Benedict made much of the contrast between the aesthetic and the militaristic themes of Japan in her book *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946). Michael Kammen, a historian inspired by Ruth Benedict, wrote about Americans as *People of Paradox* (1972). He cited especially Thomas Jefferson, slave owner and author of the *Declaration of Independence*. There are well-known Minangkabau sayings to the effect that Islamic law and Minangkabau adat are compatible. But as we shall see, balancing the different demands of this situation is a constant challenge to Minangkabau thinkers. This concern emerged often in my interviews.

Studies of Minangkabau

Much has been written about Minangkabau in recent decades. Because Minangkabau is the largest matrilineal culture in the world, feminist scholars have been especially interested in examining it (see Pak 1979, Prindiville 1985, Tanner and Thomas 1985, Frey 1986, Casey 1987, Ng 1993, Whalley 1998, Krier 2000, Blackwood 2000, and Sanday 2002). General books include Navis 1984 and Summerfield and Summerfield 1999. Other recent research has focused on law and economics (F. Benda-Beckman 1979, Kahn

1980, and K. Benda-Beckman 1984); textiles (Summerfield and Summerfield 1999); oral literature (Philips 1981, Chadwick 1986); prehistory (Miksic 2004); history (Dobbin 1983, Kahin 1985, Kahin and Kahin 1995, Abdullah 1966, 1972, Hadler 1998, and Drakard 1999); language (Moussay 1981, 1995); architecture (Vellinga 2004); martial arts (Pauka 1998 and Lyon 2002); merantau—outmigration (Kato 1982, Naim 1979, 1983, and Hoesterey 1999); music (Kartomi 1990); dance (Nor 1986); food (Klopfer 1999); and a steady stream of young scholars continues to do research in West Sumatra.

At first glance, Minangkabau language and culture do not seem to be thriving. Although in the early twenty-first century most Minangkabau still speak their language at home, among friends, and at traditional rituals, the 1980s saw virtually the end of Minangkabau as a productive written language. As recently as the 1980s, provincial newspapers had run Minangkabau-language pages with short stories, *pantun* verses, and language lessons. A small press in the city of Bukittinggi reprinted Minangkabau-language epics. But now, that is all gone. Ironically, in 1995, the first comprehensive Minangkabau dictionary (actually Minangkabau-Indonesian-French) in 60 years was published in Paris by Father Gerard Moussay. It is a remarkable cultural document compiled by a French linguist who lived for years in West Sumatra. But I could find neither the Minangkabau dictionary by Father Gerard Moussay nor any other Minangkabau dictionary for sale in the province in 2000 or 2001. Since the fall of President Suharto in 1998, restrictions on the press have been lifted, and there has been a tremendous proliferation of newspapers and magazines, both local and national, but they are all in Indonesian, the national language.

However, there is still a trickle of books and pamphlets in Indonesian explicating traditional Minangkabau culture, collecting pantun verses, or presenting Minangkabau language lessons (Zulkarnaini 1966, Amir 1999, and Ilyas 1999).

Migration to other parts of Indonesia and movement from the countryside into West Sumatran cities like Padang and Bukittinggi is slowly draining the life out of villages. Young people, especially, are reluctant to stay in the countryside farming rice. And among the older generations the most able leaders are increasingly likely to live far from their home villages so that even when they hold positions as heads of clans they are absentee leaders. For some, the recent promise from the federal government of regional autonomy (*otonomi daerah*) has raised hopes of restoring some sort of traditional sociopolitical

structure based on Minangkabau *adat*. But in villages throughout West Sumatra, television parabola have broadcast visions of cosmopolitan lifeways from all over the world into peoples' lives, and it is hard to imagine a return to the 1930s, or 1900, or 1850.

Major Themes

This study has turned out somewhat differently than its original design. I had intended to use the current model of emotion, as shown in figure 2.4, to direct the interviews. This would have provided Minangkabau descriptions for each of the various aspects of emotion that emotion researchers are exploring. It would have filled in the blanks of a Western scientific schema with the Minangkabau understandings. This is not as ethnocentric as it might sound, for these features can reasonably be expected to make sense cross-culturally. We should be surprised not to find some sorts of appraisals of emotion-triggering events, facial expressions of emotion, management of emotion expression, figurative speech about emotions, and so on in every culture. As it happened, however, I was not successful in holding the discussions to my research agenda, and found myself being led into quite unexpected directions, all having relevance to Minangkabau interests in emotion and, more broadly, in the psychological settings of emotion behavior.

As a result, this book is an account of emotion more closely attuned to what these particular Minangkabau found worth explaining to their foreign anthropologist. What holds it all together is several important themes that ran through our discussions in 2000 and 2001 and may be further summarized under a few headings.

Islam, Adat, Magic, and Nature

In these discussions, when people justified a particular concept or practice, or when they explained its origin, they would refer to the authority of one of four sources: the teachings of Islam; or adat, the formalized traditions of matrilineal Minangkabau society (dealing with social organization and the like); or the more informal Minangkabau traditions such as magical practices; or nature itself, using the common expression, *alam terkembang jadi guru,* the unfolding nature becomes the teacher (see below, p. 48). Similarly, Sanday, in her study of a Minangkabau village far to the west of Bukittinggi, considers four factors, or strands, of Minangkabau

life: Islam, adat, the central government, and magic (2002:16). But in my discussions people rarely referred to the government and often brought up nature as the source of cultural practices. Actually, Sanday reports that her Minangkabau friends used nature in a similar way, and she might well have claimed that additional strand (2002:23).

It is clear from our discussions that each of these four sources is part of living Minangkabau culture despite apparent contradictions that may seem obvious to an outsider. These apparent contradictions are the subjects of more or less explicit concerns to the people. Sometimes in our discussions, one authority or another would be rejected because it was inconsistent with Islam. But more often one or another would be invoked without regard for any incompatibility. For example, these Minangkabau often referred to the ideal of feeling one thing while saying another, but only rarely would this be examined in the light of the Islamic prohibition on hypocrisy.

The Importance of Being Wise

Minangkabau are known in Indonesia for, among other things, their intellectual ability. This bit of folk ethnography is based on their early involvement in secular education and on their contributions to Indonesian literature and film and their positions in early Indonesian national governments. Like all such generalizations this one has some exceptions. Now, especially in recent decades, other ethnic groups have eclipsed Minangkabau in one field or another. But the label of intellectuals persists, and we find it appearing in one form or another throughout these conversations. Most often someone discusses a particular virtue like "understanding another person," and then says that only with education, or wisdom, can it be achieved.

Of course, the interview situation itself may have influenced the data. These are educated, middle-class Minangkabau, including several teachers, speaking with a visiting professor. But even in my general contacts with a range of Minangkabau, I heard similar claims for the importance of knowledge and wisdom.

Where Is the Matrilineal Factor?

Most of the recent research on Minangkabau culture has been focused on the matrilineal social organization, has been carried out by women, and has emphasized the centrality of women (e.g., Sanday

2002). To my great surprise such issues rarely came up in my discussions, even though two of the four focus groups were composed of women, and I repeatedly probed for gender differences in various subjects. This is in no sense meant as a refutation of the matrilineal pattern of Minangkabau culture, but it is of methodological interest: different research interests will turn up different aspects of the same culture, and I did not pursue this line of questioning strongly enough.

The First-Stage Research: 1983–1986

This research has developed considerably since the early 1980s when I first began planning it and submitting grant applications. It was influenced by changes in anthropology over the two decades, by the changing study of emotion taking place mainly outside of anthropology, by the availability of more portable video and computer technology, and in reaction to what I was beginning to understand from my Minangkabau friends and informants. As I began preparing for my first round of fieldwork in the early 1980s, anthropology had only just begun to pay attention to emotions.

Indeed, Jean Briggs had written about Inuit anger in 1970, Michelle Z. Rosaldo in her Ilongot work had focused on a single complex emotion, liget (1980), Robert Levy had written about Tahitian emotions (1973), and Catherine Lutz had just begun to publish her Ifaluk work (1982). But that was about it. Psychologists, on the other hand, had done considerable work on their own European and North American cultures in laboratory and questionnaire research. I became aware of this tradition through collaboration with the psychologists Paul Ekman and Robert Levenson and was determined to combine ethnographic fieldwork with the systematic approaches of psychology.

I choose the Minangkabau of West Sumatra for several reasons. By the 1980s, the Indonesian government was no longer granting research visas for Irian Jaya (West New Guinea), where I had already carried out nearly three years of fieldwork between 1961 and 1970. In any case, I wanted to get a new perspective by working in a very different sort of culture. But since I already had some intellectual investment in Indonesia, it made sense to continue there, and the highlands of West Sumatra seemed like a reasonable place to live with my wife and three small children. Minangkabau language is so close to the national language that after a year in the Indonesian

FALCON program at Cornell, I was comfortable using Indonesian and had made a start with Minangkabau. In May 1983, I made a brief reconnaissance visit to West Sumatra and established contact with the Minangkabau sociologist Dr. Mochtar Naim. Through him I arranged sponsorship at Andalas University, the provincial university, and agreed to teach an anthropology course there in Indonesian each semester. And I settled on Bukittinggi, a small city in the highlands, for my research. In July 1983, my family moved to Bukittinggi, where we lived in a rented house in the center of town for a year and then, after a year, back in South Carolina, for a second year (1985–1986).

Prototypically, ethnographic fieldwork is carried out by a single anthropologist living in a small isolated community, deeply immersed in local life. Most of the recent ethnographic research in Minangkabau has followed this pattern and has resulted in many rich accounts of a few people. This research pattern has also been true of much anthropological research on emotion. However, in this research I wanted to work with a larger number of Minangkabau. And I was reluctant to commit my family to village life. Even the time that I spent observing in villages was carefully divided among 16 children. This was a deliberate trade-off: a broader range of people against a more intimate knowledge of a few.

Elsewhere I have described my research methods during this first phase of the project in some detail (1991a:3–40). Briefly, there were three major projects. One was close systematic observations of 16 Minangkabau children in their home settings (inspired by the work that Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead had carried out in Bali in the 1930s [Bateson and Mead 1942, and Mead and MacGregor 1951]). I did simple observations of each child, twice making two-hour videotape records, and also I used some questionnaires with the parents. This took a large part of my research time over the two years. It was invaluable for giving me background information about Minangkabau life in a wide range of homes. The second task was mapping the realm of emotion by discovering all possible emotion words, how they clustered with other similar words, and how the clusters are related to each other. This I did through questionnaires and then used the data to construct three maps: Minangkabau-speaking Minangkabau, Minangkabau-speaking Indonesian, and then, with data gathered during a brief visit in 1986 to Yogyakarta in Central Java, a map of Javanese-speaking Indonesian. These maps resembled star maps, with the clusters of emotion terms as constellations in the night sky (see figures 2.1 and 2.2, pp. 22–4).

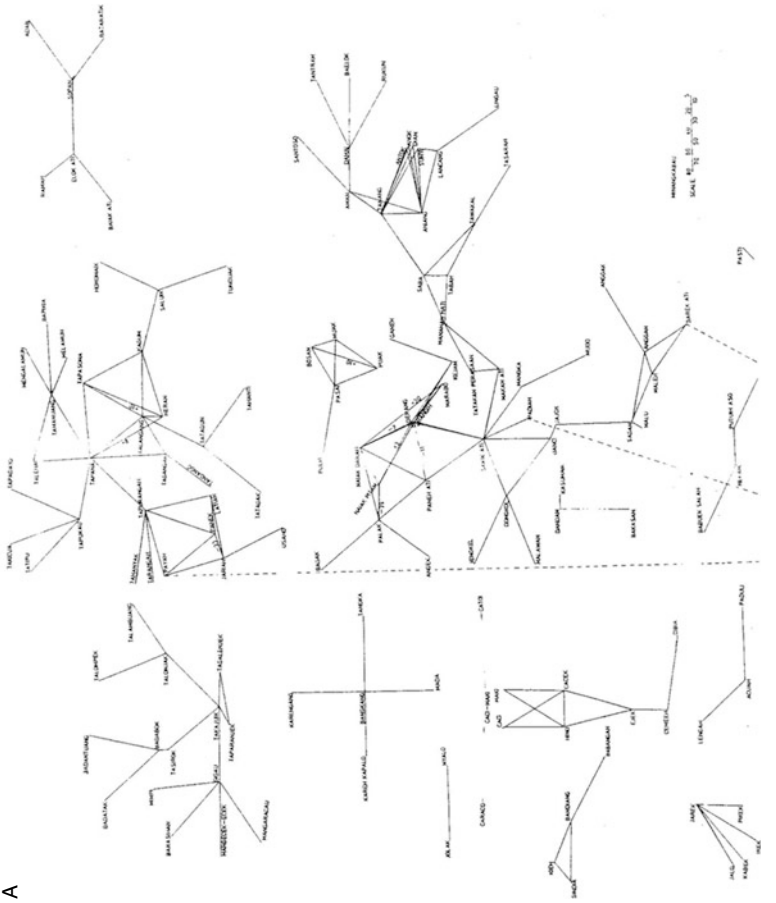
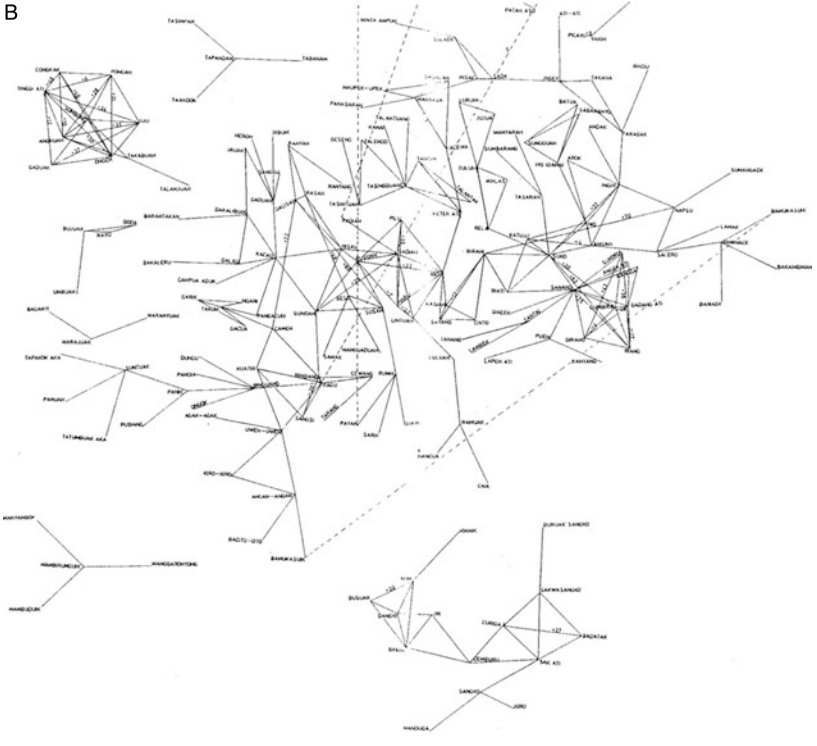


Figure 2.1 A cognitive map of emotion in Minangkabau.
Source: Heider 1991a:124, 125.

B



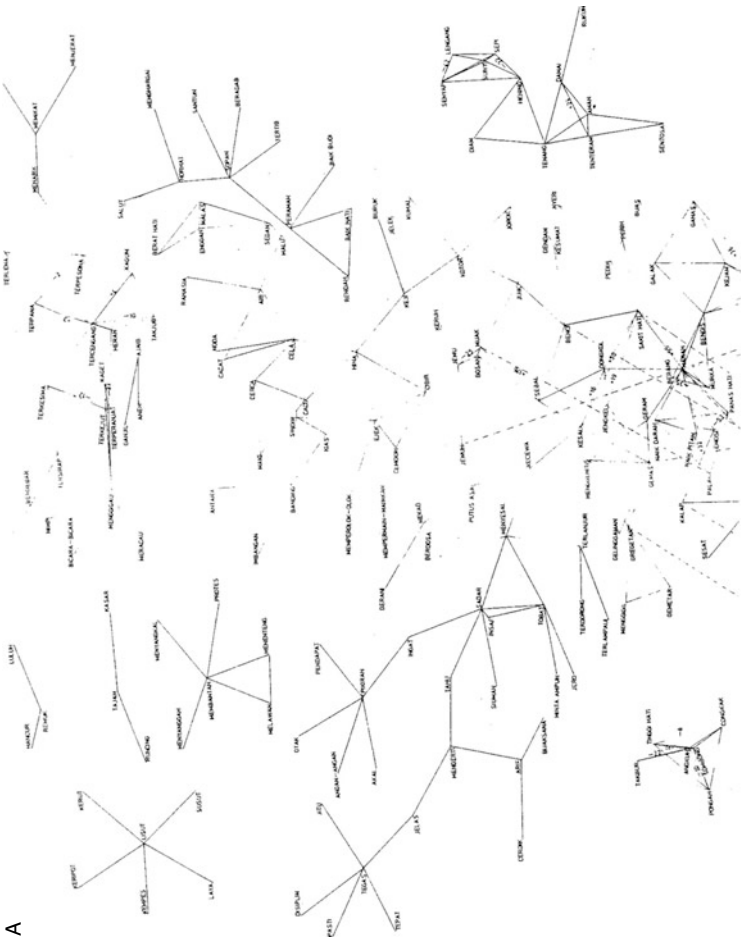
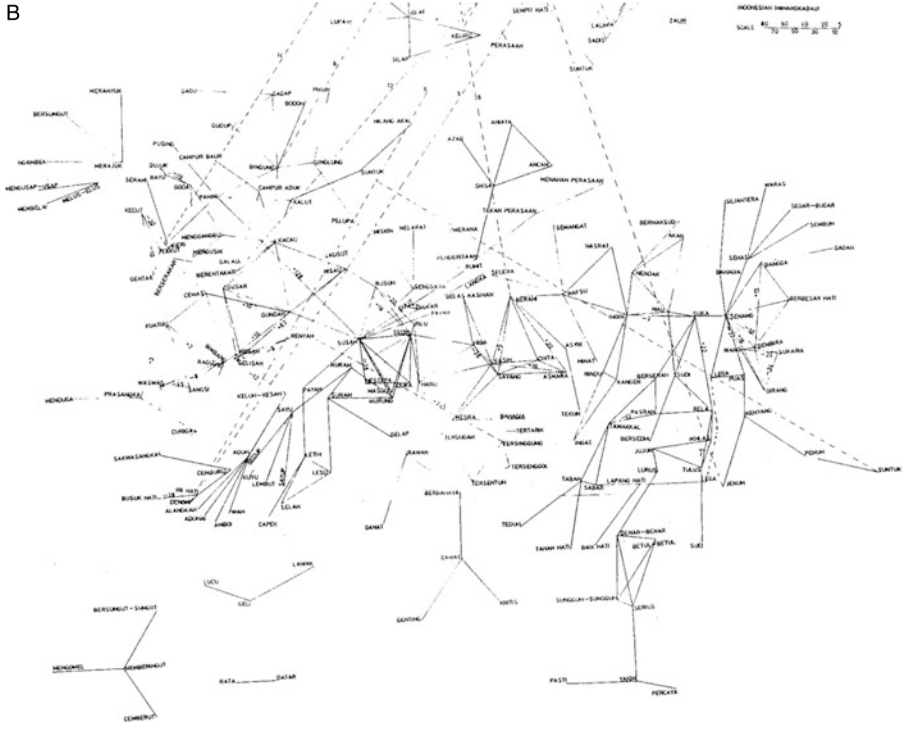


Figure 2.2 A cognitive map of the landscape of emotion in Minangkabau Indonesian.

Source: Heider 1991a:122, 123.

B


INDONESIAN MINANGKABAU
SCALE
PERASAAN
SUNTUK
LUPA
SILAP
SEMPIT HATI
LALAI
SADIS
ZALIM
HERANTUR
BERSUNGUT
NGAMBEK
MERAJUK
MENGUSAP-USAP
MENGELAH
LADU
CADAP
BODOH
PAHAM
DUDUK
HILANG AKAL
PUSING
CAMPUR BAUR
BINGUNG
GUNDUNG
SUNTUK
CAMPUR ADUK
KALUT
KEDUT
PELUPA
MESRA
HELAKAT
MENGAMBEK
MENGUSIK
GALAU
MENENTANG
GENTAR
KACAU
CEMAS
CURIGA
DURHAKA
KUATIR
RENTAK
RAGU-RAGU
SUSAH
RUNSING
MENDUGA
PRASANGKA
MASYUK
LANGSU
CURIGA
KELUH-KESAH
PATAH
SEDIH
HARU
MURUNG
GELAP
SAKIT HATI
CEMBURU
BUSUK HATI
DENGKI
ALAMKAU
ADUAN
AMBO
IRIHATI
CAPEK
LESU
LELAH
LETIH
LEMBUT
KUYU
DANAT
BERDAMAI
GANTING
KRITIS
LUCU
GELI
LAWAK
BERSUNGUT-SUNGUT
MENGOMEL
MEMBERONGUT
CEMBERUT
RATA
DATAR
AIBATA
AZAB
ANCAM
SIKSA
MENAHAN PERASAAN
TAHAN PERASAAN
IHERANA
KEINGINAN
HINGGA
SELERA
MENGGAIRAHKAN
BELAS KASIHAN
BERAHI
ASYIK
MAHIR
CINTA
SAYANG
KASIH
MESRA
NEGERA
BAHANA
TERTARIK
TERSINGGUNG
TERSINGGUNG
TERSENTUH
ILHAM
IRAMA
SEMAKIN
BERSEMANGAT
NASRAT
MENDAK
BERHASRAT
AKAD
BERSEMANGAT
SUKA
SENANG
GEMBIRA
LUKAIRA
GIRANG
BERSEKAH TUKA
RANGKUM
PASRAH
BELA
KEMANAKAL
BERSEDIA
HORAS
JUJUR
LURUS
TULUS
LUGA
JENUH
KEHTANG
PENUH
SUNTUK
TABAH
LAPANG HATI
TEDAH
TAHAN HATI
BAIK HATI
SUKA
BENAR-BENAR
SETIA
SETIA
JERUS
DUNGGUH-SUNGGUH
PASTI
YAKIN
PERCAYA
SUJANTERA
MARAS
SEGAR-BUGAR
SEMBUH
SEHAT
BAHAGIA
GADAH
BERBESAR HATI

The third task was to work out scenarios, or schemas, for emotions, by again using questionnaires that asked for antecedents and outcomes of emotions and, in order to press the respondents to be precise, asking them to distinguish between two closely related terms in Indonesian, or in Minangkabau, or between an Indonesian word and the nearest Minangkabau word. Although the mapping itself was fairly quantified, this final step in constructing scenarios from 50 respondents became more qualitative.

The decision to begin with words was a deliberate tactical one. Certainly, words themselves are not the same as the emotions that they refer to. But words are differentially associated with other words. That is, they belong to clusters, or families, of closely related words, and it is those clusters that are the better equivalent of emotions for cross-cultural purposes. And, finally, of course, words are the most accessible ways into the complexity of emotions. One can easily ask about the meanings of emotion words, but one cannot easily ask people to enact behavior appropriate to these words. And one would be quite unlikely to collect information on the whole range of emotions through passive observation of ongoing behavior. So, for the task of mapping the entire realm of "perasaan," simple words offered a convenient first step into the realm.

In summary, during the two years of the first stage of this field research, the tasks were to become familiar with Minangkabau culture in general; to identify emotion words, their clusters, and the total configuration of clusters; and to work out the scenarios for key emotions. Three "cultures of emotion" were explored, primarily through the use of questionnaires: Minangkabau-speaking Minangkabau, Minangkabau-speaking Indonesian, and Central Javanese–speaking Indonesian.

The Second-Stage Research: 2000, 2001

During the late 1990s, I planned the next phase of this research. On the dust jacket of *Landscapes of Emotions* (1991a), my report on the 1980s research, I had used a photograph of a piece of cloth made in Bukittinggi. It was meant as a subtle preview of where the research would go after the 1991 book. In itself, the cloth combined elements from several cultures: in Javanese batik technique using Indian motifs, it had a well-known Minangkabau poem in Arabic script. The poem itself was addressed to a prototypical merchant

who has gone abroad, saying that the grass has grown high in the courtyard. Thus, by the usual Minangkabau tactic of indirection, it evokes a seminal Minangkabau emotion, *rindu* ("nostalgia" or "homesickness"), without actually using any emotion word. And so, this second stage of research goes beyond the emotion words themselves to explore the Minangkabau understanding of emotions.

An important development in my own thinking about ethnography concerns the issue of voice: whose voice is to be heard. This rethinking was spurred by my involvement in ethnographic film. In the early 1960s, when I first included film in my ethnographic toolkit, there was no possibility of making synch sound recording, and the standard procedure was to edit one's footage and then add a voice-of-God narration explaining everything. Then, by the late 1960s, as the technology of synch sound became available for shooting in remote field situations, we began to hear the actual voices of the people, not just of the filmmakers. And this concern with voice spread to the writing of ethnography itself.

In my first attempts at ethnographic writing, I had never considered this a problem. It seemed obvious that I, as the ethnographer, would listen to the people and then tell my readers what it all meant. Everything I wrote about the Yavapai (1956) and later the Dani (1970) was in my own voice. I do not think that I ever let the people speak except through me. Even in the first phase of this Minangkabau work, I wrote at length about their words, but in my own sentences. Now, in this stage, I want to let these Minangkabau informants speak for themselves as much as possible. Of course, I am still selecting parts of their talk, and I am translating their talk into my own English. And after our one-hour interviews, I returned to my cold-water hotel in Bukittinggi and never spent a whole day or night in a Minangkabau household, so what I know comes mainly from those interviews. I was never as close to their daily life as were many others who have studied emotions in the field. But these are the choices that I made.

The new research, carried out over two four-month periods in 2000 and 2001, is also shaped by advances made in the study of emotion between the early 1980s and the late 1990s. To illustrate, I had started out in the 1980s with a fairly simple conceptualization of the flow of individual emotions:

The first diagram locates antecedents and outcomes of emotions and emphasizes those points where specific cultural influences might shape emotion behavior. Nearly two decades later, by the end of the 1990s, many more features of emotion behavior had been added to

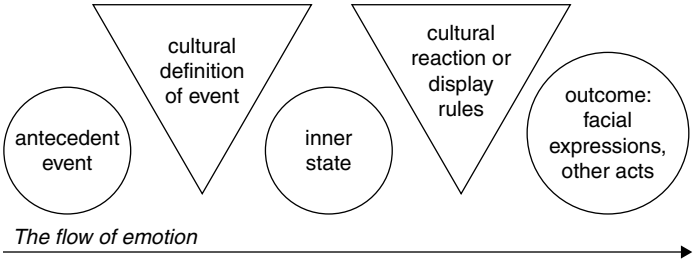


Figure 2.3 The flow of emotion, 1980s.
Source: Heider 1991a:7.

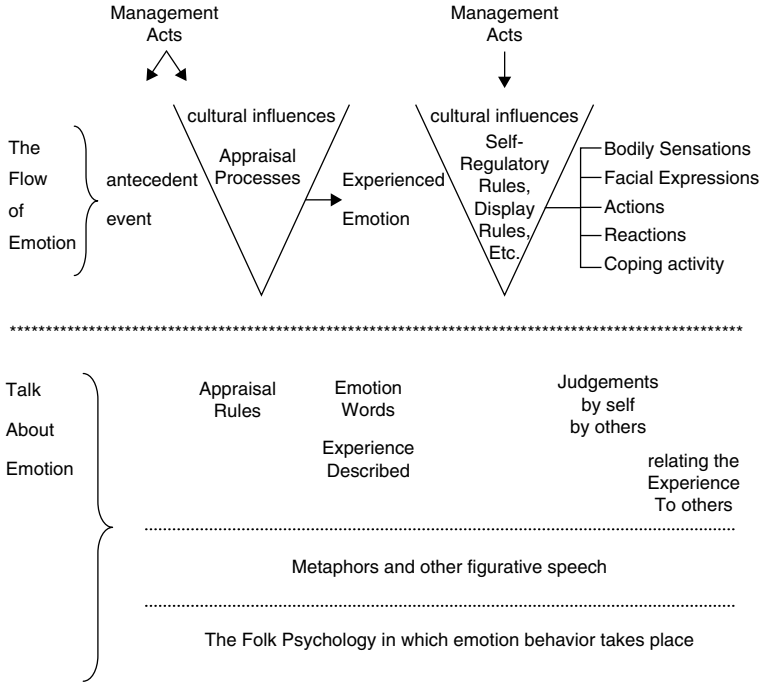


Figure 2.4 The flow of emotion, 2000.

the mix. Most of these had been worked on by psychologists and linguists who had worked mainly within their own cultures. But now the challenge is to apply these insights to the emotion behavior of other cultures.

Thus, the outline of the flow of emotion that underlies this current research is considerably more complex (see figure 2.4).

First, it has become useful to distinguish between the actual behavior, or flow of emotion, and the ways in which people talk about emotions. Emotions do not arise spontaneously, and we can still refer to an antecedent event. And that event is somehow appraised by some sorts of standards, standards that may be culturally shaped. Psychologists who have studied this appraisal process (see Scherer, Schorr, and Johnstone 2001 for a comprehensive review of this work) have been successful in eliciting descriptions of up to a dozen appraisal rules. This of course is talk about emotion, rich talk that informants elaborated after the event at length. But in the actual behavior, or flow of emotion, the appraisal process must often be virtually instantaneous, and people do not run down a list of rules to decide which emotions to feel. Exactly how this process works is still to be satisfactorily explained.

There is a similar situation with emotion words. These words are talk about emotion, and people can recognize them and describe much about, say, "anger." Further, people can distinguish the subtle differences between words of the same cluster, say, "anger," "fury," and "annoyance." But as I found in my observations of Minangkabau children, many instances of emotion behavior take place without recourse to any emotion words.

The work of George Lakoff and Zoltan Kovesces (e.g., 1987) has sparked an interest in another level of talk about emotion: the use of figurative speech of one sort or another to refer to emotions. This figurative speech such as metaphors ("he blew his top") and similes ("she was mad as a wet hen") are common in many languages, and may occur in all languages. We return to this on page 102–9, below.

So it was this considerably elaborated framework for exploring emotions that I had in mind as I designed the second stage of this research. In the end it was not possible to exhaust each point in the framework for any one emotion, although that had been my original goal. And the major weakness of this sort of diagram is that it invites analysis of each emotion in isolation, whereas in real life, emotions are felt and acted on in concert or in sequence with other emotions. One is rarely just angry, but more often surprised and angry, or embarrassed and angry, or surprised and embarrassed, and so forth.

One of the most significant discoveries of the first stage concerned the matter of sequential emotions, a processual feature where one emotion, a "way-station emotion," typically gives rise to another

(1991a:97–112). Although my informants in this second stage of the research did not use any such technical terms, they frequently mentioned this sequential relationship of way station and end-station emotions. The full study of such combinations of emotions, both co-occurring and sequential, is a task for another day.

The Interviews

Although questionnaires answered by large samples of people had served well during the earlier stage of this research, their scope was too narrow for the present stage. At the other extreme, the more traditional ethnographic immersion in the life of a household and a village had been a good way to get a broad feel for Minangkabau culture through the experiences of a few individuals, but not for systematically learning a broad range of information about many specific emotions. Douglas Hollan and Jane Wellencamp, in two detailed monographs about the Toraja (who live on Sulawesi, another Indonesian island), had demonstrated the effectiveness of extensive, individual interviews (1994, 1996). Hollan spoke with seven men, Wellencamp with four women, each for 10 to 12 hours in six to seven visits. Their interviews were fairly unstructured, but they covered the same life cycle of psychological dynamics with each person. I used a similar approach for both solo and focus-group interviews but concentrated on broad emotion dynamics rather than exploring individuals' own experiences.

Focus-Group Interviews

Focus groups have been an important source of information in this research. But since focus groups are still unfamiliar in anthropology, I should discuss them as a research tool before describing my own use.

Focus groups are really group interviews. Their great advantage is that they allow for discussion among the members in addition to the direct answers to questions posed by the interviewer or moderator.

The three major methods used by anthropologists (I here refer to cultural anthropologists, or ethnographers) are interviews, observations of behavior, and written questionnaires. Interviews have been almost exclusively solo, or one-on-one. However, the prototype of the field anthropologist sitting around with a group of people, casually discussing things, is actually a group interview, and the

source of much important information. Bronislaw Malinowski, the founding father of ethnographic fieldwork, sometimes talked with groups of Trobriand Islanders, although as Frey and Fontana note (1993:222–223) he did not refer explicitly to those conversations in his writings. I have no doubt that ethnographers ever since have participated in such informal group discussions and probably gained much of their information from them. Often the nature of the fieldwork involves living in the midst of the people being studied. The Malinowskian image of the lone ethnographer in an isolated village never really existed—Malinowski, in the Trobriands, spent much time with other European expatriates—but the image persists and is still to some extent the hallmark of ethnographic research. Certainly, it is a far cry from the typical psychological research, for example, where the investigator lives at home and meets subjects in labs by appointment. The point is that for me as for most ethnographers there is much downtime, opportunity to sit around and chat with people. But as important as this casual chatting can be for building rapport as well as gathering information, it is rarely commented on or described as part of the research methodology.

A rare example of ethnographic use of focus groups was described by Peter Biella at the Society for Visual Anthropology Visual Research Conference in New Orleans in 2010 (Biella and Kamerling 2010). They showed short film sequences of key Maasai events to Kenyan Maasai men and women, filming their discussions after the screenings. The men's reactions were then analyzed in terms of their statuses like senior warriors, senior elders, and junior warriors.

Meanwhile, other social scientists were developing focus groups in their research. According to Frey and Fontana (1993:21) the first systematic use of group interviews came in the 1920s (Bogardus 1926), although Robert Merton is usually cited as the pioneer for his application of what he called "the focused interview" (Merton, Fiske, and Kendall 1956). Today focus-group interviews are best known from their use in commercial marketing and in political marketing, where they probe consumer preferences in products such as whiskey and in candidates' positions. Perhaps the whiff of cynical manipulation had given focus groups a bad name for some. But social scientists have increasingly found focus groups to be a valuable addition to their research toolkit. There is now a booming literature. Among the most useful are two books by David L. Morgan (1988, 1993) and, more recently, a book by Rosaline Barbour (2007). But until now, anthropologists have generally ignored the potential of focus groups. James P. Spradley's older classic work on

"The Ethnographic Interview" (1979) does not mention group interviews at all. H. Russell Bernard, in the third edition of his exhaustive "Research Methods in Anthropology" (2002:224–230) does devote seven pages to focus groups, but can come up with few anthropological uses and these are by applied anthropologists publishing in nonanthropological journals. Occasionally one finds a passing reference to ethnographic use of focus groups, but little attention is actually paid to them (e.g., Morgan 1993).

I decided to add focus groups to this research, complementing the one-on-one, or solo interviews, for several reasons. In the solo interviews I could explore concepts in a much deeper way than with the questionnaires that I had used in the 1980s. I could cross-check information by introducing it into an interview with another person later. But the focus group provides an immediate check, for the group members can monitor each other and expand, modify, or even challenge what one member might say.

Also, a solo interview is essentially limited to question and response. Over time, in 2000 and 2001, I had 28 interviews with one man whom I shall call Pak A, 18 with Pak B, and 6 with the third, Pak C. As we became more comfortable with each other and my informants saw the sorts of information I was interested in, they expanded beyond the strict bounds of my questions. But the solo interview remains a one-on-one interaction. With the focus groups, I would present a subject to the members, and they could discuss it among themselves, sometimes forging a consensus easily, or perhaps only after expressing different views, and often moving off in directions I had not anticipated.

In its ideal form, then, the focus group provides information through dynamic discussion among its members (I would add, though, that even without the group discussion, in those situations when a group turns into a series of one-on-one interviews, it can provide useful information). So the question is how to conduct the focus group for the maximum benefit. The various publications on focus groups (again, see Morgan 1988 and 1993) are helpful but somewhat intimidating with their rules and warnings. As I considered using focus groups, I first made contact with a marketing firm in Columbia, South Carolina, established by Emerson Smith, a sociologist who invited me to attend a focus group that he was running on behalf of a local museum. That gave me a good idea of what effective focus-group work was like. Then I took advantage of a brief visit to West Sumatra in 1997 to run a pilot study with focus groups. I wanted to see if I had the personal and linguistic skills to

handle focus groups, and if Minangkabau would be comfortable participating in them.

For this 1997 pilot study, I worked with two women who had been my research assistants in the 1980s, who were thoroughly familiar with my research, who could explain it to others, and who had excellent community connections. I asked them to recruit middle-aged Minangkabau from the city of Bukittinggi to make up two groups of men and two groups of women, each group with about five people. My intention was to narrow the cultural range by controlling for age and ethnicity. I kept men and women in separate groups to assure maximum comfort in case we should get into gender-sensitive topics, and with the expectation that gender differences in emotion schemas might emerge. I decided to run the focus groups in Indonesian, since I was much better speaking Indonesian than Minangkabau. Dr. Johanna Prawitasari, of the Faculty of Psychology at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Java, had used focus groups in her own research on emotion, and I was able to use some of her protocols in Indonesian, adapted to my own research. I composed my own questions, conferring with my research assistants to verify that it all made sense to them.

On my brief visit to West Sumatra in 1997, I met with each of the four focus groups in the front living room of one of my research assistants. I sat with the group of four or five, read out the introduction and the ethical clarifications, and posed questions and directed when necessary the discussions. My 15-year-old son, Paul, handled the video and audiotaping equipment from 2 meters away. My two research assistants were present in the room but did not participate. To my considerable surprise and pleasure, these four trial sessions went well and gave me the confidence that focus groups would work in this research.

The dangers mentioned in the focus-group literature by and large were not realized. Even though most participants knew the others in their group, no one seemed intimidated. A couple of the older men did tend to lecture me at length a bit, but after they had had their say, they did not try to control the general discussion. Actual interaction sometimes was less than ideal, but that may always be the case with focus groups.

When I returned for four months' research in 2000, I followed the same procedure and reassembled virtually the same groups (replacing one participant who had died and another who had moved away). An anthropology graduate student, David Lyon, ran the video camera while I handled the audio recorder. Although I was transcribing

the solo-interview tapes myself, I did not feel that I could deal with discussions among groups of four or five people speaking in both Indonesian and Minangkabau, often all at the same time, and so Syahrizal, a Dozent at Andalas University in Padang, did those transcriptions.

During the second four months, in 2001, I followed the same routine with these four groups. This time I ran both video- and audio-recording devices and, feeling more confident about language, I transcribed the tapes myself, but Syahrizal again did transcriptions, and his versions proved a valuable check on my own. I met with each focus group for one-hour sessions 14 times over the three years, producing 56 hours of focus-group discussions. I compensated each interviewee, as well as the two research assistants, with modest cash payments, joking that the money was a gift from President George W. Bush (my research was in fact federally funded).

Each group met every other week on Fridays or Saturdays, so there was a two-week cycle. At the previous session, I would announce the subject—"metaphors," "anger," and so on—so that they could be thinking it over. Sometimes, when we did not cover a topic thoroughly, I would suggest that they write down further ideas and bring them to the next meeting. Since many participants were schoolteachers, this idea of homework seemed natural and routine. I coordinated the topics of discussion between the focus groups and the solo interviews, so that generally I covered the same material over a two-week period twice with each of the three solo men and once with each of the four focus groups.

The greatest challenge in using focus groups is to stimulate discussion, differences of opinion, and attempts to convince others within the group. There is no magic formula for this. Sometimes I wrote emotion words on cards and asked people to sort them into similar piles. Sometimes I asked a series of simple questions—"Is X an emotion?" And sometimes I asked open-ended questions like "what does *budi* mean?" I sometimes read from notes, but I did not take notes myself during the discussions, relying on the tapes to record what was said. I was constantly straining to keep up with the flow and to decide when to interject to keep things going, or to remind people to speak clearly, or to redirect the discussion. Although we chatted before and after the discussion, I tried to say as little as possible when it got under way. A few people spoke their Indonesian or Minangkabau with a speed, an accent, or an articulation that made it very difficult for me to understand, and it was then that Syahrizal's transcriptions became especially invaluable.

There were two weaknesses in this focus-group approach. I was always trying so hard to keep things going that I did not always pick up on important comments dropped into the middle of statements. Only later, reviewing the transcripts, did I realize that I had missed an important opportunity to explore an unexpected opening. But by transcribing the tapes immediately after the interviews, I often spotted cues that I could explore in later interviews. And transcribing these interview tapes took time. Normally I did 5 one-hour interviews each week, and each interview took about 8 to12 hours to transcribe, using a transcribing machine with foot-pedal control and typing directly onto a laptop.

I should add that I prefer the term "focus group" for what I have used, even though I did not follow the rather strict procedures described in much of the literature (e.g., many of the people in my groups knew each other and may well have passed on what had come up in their groups). And "discussion group" works nicely for the more casual discussions that we often fall into during fieldwork.

Solo Interviews

The first year I did solo interviews with two men, and the second year I added a third man. Each week I would do one or two one-hour interviews with each man, recorded on an audio tape recorder. During the next day or so I would transcribe the interview. These interviews were done in the men's houses. We usually were alone, although sometimes the man's wife or other relatives would unobtrusively listen in.

The differences between the questionnaire responses in the 1980s and these interview data have raised an interesting question. It was easy to tabulate the short-questionnaire responses, identify the majority response, and reject or ignore those few responses that were different (see Heider 1991a). But in these recent interviews, when someone made an unexpected response I could pursue it, ask for clarification, and establish that there was no misunderstanding of the question. Then, if the person persisted, I would have a very divergent piece of information to deal with. This was even more so for the focus-group discussions, where the group of women or men had the opportunity to—and often did—disagree and thrash out things, but might well come to conclusions that differed from other focus groups or from the solo men. So, while it is easy to dismiss a single answer on a single questionnaire sheet, it is far harder to impeach an informant with whom one is talking over a period of

months. This raises questions of authority, or authenticity, and of consensus that I shall deal with later.

Learning How to Ask Minangkabau

Since open-ended interviews must be seen as interactions between the interviewer and the interviewees, the shape of the interview is a collaboration, and I share in the responsibility. I was less aware of it at the time, but now as I work through all the transcripts it seems clear how often I encouraged even as my informants led. But Minangkabau informants were less interested in subjects like my "indices of prototypicality" than they were in their own thinking about emotions like anger. Since my goal here is to describe their folk psychology in their own voices, I followed their leads.

Early in the cycles of interviews, as we ended one session, participants began to ask about the topic for the next session. So I usually announced it for each interview in advance. Some members of the focus groups would bring their notes on what they assumed that I would be asking, and sometimes people would even make a short statement at the beginning of the session. Pak A sometimes prepared an elaborate diagram on which he would then comment. I assumed that he based these expositions on his own knowledge, for I never found anything so systematic in the literature. But he was accustomed to giving these didactic presentations on religion and Minangkabau custom to small groups of Minangkabau. The front room of Pak A's house was fitted up as a sort of seminar room, complete with the blackboard on which he prepared the diagrams for me. Through pure luck I had slipped into the learner slot that he was already using. I had not yet read Charles L. Briggs's book, "Learning How to Ask," in which Briggs warns us against

> the refusal to rely more heavily on native metacommunicative repertoires as sources of information and our unquestioned belief that we have the right to impose interview techniques on our consultants. (1986:3,4)

Briggs suggests that a field-worker should spend a great deal of time at the beginning of the research studying how the local people ask questions and communicate information. He is right, but life is short.

On reading Briggs, I felt a shock of chagrin and recognition: chagrin, that I had often fallen into that ethnocentric trap in interviewing

through decades of fieldwork, and recognition, that Pak A had automatically absorbed me into his own "native metacommunicative repertoire." In fact, with many of my informants I slipped into the role of student, listening to lectures on my various topics. And what I learned was closer to idealized schemas of Minangkabau folk psychology than actual instances of emotion behavior. My frequent attempts to elicit such examples were usually unsuccessful. The informants showed a reluctance to discuss actual emotion experiences, even during the private solo interviews.

Video and Audio Records

During each phase of this research, I did extensive video and audio taping. During the 1980s, as I was following my sample of 16 children, I shot two hours of video on each child in the first year and again in the second year. In the days immediately following each shoot, I did a rough transcription of the tape with the help of my research assistants, looking for significant emotion behavior. I had been modeling my approach on the filming that Gregory Bateson did in Bali in the 1930s. Although Bateson and Margaret Mead claimed to be observing several children, in fact they focused mainly on one little boy, Karba, who dominates their finished films (*Karba's First Years*, etc.). I was determined to work through a larger sample of children more systematically, and so each year spent 32 hours of shooting apportioned equally among the 16 children. In retrospect, if I had spent more time with fewer children, shooting later in the day when the fathers were home to model emotions, I would have had more useful data.

During the second round of the project, in 2000 and 2001, I concentrated on the interviews and spent relatively little time with any families. I worked over the audio tapes of each interview carefully, but although I did shoot video tapes of the focus groups, as yet I have done little with that video information.

Translation Solutions

Because I want to keep close to what Minangkabau actually say about emotion and folk psychology, I shall be quoting extensively from the interviews. But this involves translating from Indonesian or Minangkabau into English. In the interests of accuracy I have

leaned toward the awkward literal and have not tried to make these Minangkabau sound like contemporary Americans. But I should explain some of the liberties that I have taken in the process of translation.

- First, in many passages I have left the original emotion words untranslated. It is a truism that virtually no word can be translated accurately by a single word from a distant language. The goal here is to explore the nuances of meaning of these words in Indonesian and Minangkabau through extensive discussions from the interviews. It seems a paradox, but many inaccurate words produce more accuracy that a single inaccurate word. Where necessary, though, I have given an English translation equivalent but signaled its status by quotation marks. Also I have placed a glossary of the most frequently occurring Minangkabau and Indonesian words at the back of this book.
- Most of this research was carried out in Indonesian, but we all frequently used Minangkabau words or phrases. Where there is ambiguity as to the language, and when it seems important, I have indicated the source with a postmark, as *hati*:i for the Indonesian, and ati:m for the Minangkabau form.
- Minangkabau often refer to the seat of emotions as being in the hati, which is literally the liver. I have at times translated hati as liver, but sometimes as heart, its equivalent in American folk psychology.
- A person's home is important for Minangkabau emotion talk, especially in connection with words like rindu, "nostalgia" or "homesickness." Various terms are used in this context. *Kampung* refers to a cluster of houses and is often expanded to kampung-halaman, the halaman being the swept earth courtyard surrounded by several houses. Negeri (nagari:m) was the most significant territorial unit of social structure in the traditional sociopolitical organization, comprising a few dozen or hundred houses and their rice fields. In the past, the Minangkabau negeri was proudly independent, claiming its own dialect, its own leaders, and its own adat, or customs. In fact this independence was so highly valued that it made difficult cooperation at higher levels. But negara is also used in Indonesian to refer to homeland, country, or nation, so there is sometimes ambiguity (these words come from Sanskrit). But in most cases involving emotion talk, negeri/nagari means "home."
- There is no obligatory singular/plural choice for Indonesian nouns. Redoubling a noun conveys the sense of different sorts of

the noun. Ordinary plurals are not marked, but are obvious from the context. To make the English flow I often add an "s" to an Indonesian or Minangkabau noun to indicate plurals.

- *Datuk* (datuak:m) and *penghulu* (pangulu:m) are important clan and village figures, which I refer to as chiefs or leaders.
- The words for close friend or intimates of the opposite gender like kekasih or pacar are quite ambiguous and can range in meaning from girlfriend or boyfriend to lover.
- Words for males, like laki-laki, and females, like wanita, perempuan, and gadis are also ambiguous, with varying connotations, but I use English words that make sense in context.
- The third person singular pronoun, dia, is gender neutral, but I have used he or she depending on the context.
- The basic root for emotion is *rasa*, and one often says "dia rasa (or merasa) rindu," for example. "He has the emotion of nostalgia" is stilted, "he emotes nostalgia" is inaccurate, so I usually translate it as "he feels nostalgic."
- Adat is a common and important term referring to traditional cultural norms or rules, as opposed to the Arabic word hukum, which refers to the formal Indonesian laws.

I take full responsibility for the accuracy of the translations, although I did refer to Syahrizal's transcriptions. After taking John Wolff's FALCON Indonesian year-long course at Cornell University and then teaching anthropology courses in Indonesian for six semesters at Andalas University in Padang, I had a workable command of Indonesian. All the interviews were carried out in Indonesian (with some Minangkabau interspersed), recorded, and then translated into English. I have put the original texts quoted in the translations in http://www.cas.sc.edu/anth/Faculty/HeiderK/Minangkabau-Indonesian %20Emotion%20 Interviews.pdf For the accuracy of the translations I am indebted to Syahrizal and my training by the Cornell teachers, John Wolf and his teaching assistants, Dede Oetomo, Ismet Fananay, and Amrih Widodo. For errors, I alone am responsible. But I would welcome alternative readings (at heiderkg@gmail.com).

Notation System

I have retained many Minangkabau and Indonesian words in the text of this book, not to perplex the reader but to avoid the premature

closure that all too often occurs when words with complex cultural meanings are translated from one language to another. It is usually clear when a word is in Minangkabau or in Indonesian, but in some cases I have indicated the language with a postfix of :m or :i.

The many excerpts from interview transcripts are italicized except for my own interjections. I am responsible for these English translations, but because of the importance of the precise wording of statements made by the subjects, I would like to repeat that the original texts can be examined on the Web site: http://www.cas.sc.edu/anth/Faculty/HeiderK/Minangkabau-Indonesian%20Emotion%20Interviews.pdf

I have not tried to make individual attributions for the focus-group transcripts, but have indicated the beginning of a new speaker's contribution by starting a new line.

Selecting the Subjects

During the two years of the first stage of research, I had very loose criteria for choosing subjects. I recruited people self-identified as Minangkabau, college-age youths to middle aged, and split them evenly between male and female. As my analysis progressed, I was surprised to find little gender difference. But from my general ethnographic work I became convinced that there would be some, perhaps considerable, cultural differences between young and old, as well as regional difference between people of the three heartland districts of Minangkabau. And also, those from Padang and other coastal regions would be different again. But the 1980s results represent an aggregate version of Minangkabau culture, highlands and coastal.

For this second phase, I worked with only 21 people and narrowed the criteria for selecting them: all were Minangkabau, with Minangkabau parents, growing up in the Agam district of the heartland. Almost all were middle aged (45–65), middle class (mainly retired teachers or civil servants), and lived in a single neighborhood of the city of Bukittinggi. Many knew each other, and there was a husband and wife pair, as well as a mother and daughter pair, but they were in different focus groups.

This study explores culture, by which I mean those learned, shared ideas about behavior. But as we shall see, even though I have narrowed down the limits of this particular cultural sample, there is often disagreement within my small informant group about the ideas, or schemas, concerning emotions and folk psychology. And

I have no doubt that a sample of Minangkabau teenagers, or of Minangkabau from another region, would produce a somewhat different cultural picture.

When I write about "Minangkabau" or "Minangkabau culture" I am sometimes generalizing about all 5 million people who would call themselves Minangkabau, but more often I am referring to the patterns that I have gleaned from this handful of informants. They can be described as "middle-aged, middle-class Minangkabau born of Minangkabau parents living around Bukittinggi." But rather than use this unwieldy phrase, I have shortened it to "Minangkabau" and trust that the context makes it clear what is meant.

Ethical Considerations

The American Anthropological Association Code of Ethics as well as federal regulations promulgated by university Internal Review Boards demand a level of ethical awareness far beyond that of earlier periods. I was particularly concerned with the principle of informed consent—that each participant in this study be fully aware of what they were getting themselves into. Before each part of this work, in 1997, 2000, and 2001, I explained what I was doing. I gave each focus-group member a bilingual (Indonesian and English) form explaining the study, offering them the chance to review the video and audio tapes, and to erase anything that was considered embarrassing. None took me up on the offer. I asked if I could use their names, and all agreed. In any case, there was no deception involved. The audio and video recorders were always in plain sight, and everyone understood the principle of recording.

Yet, there remains a problem. I discussed the same concepts with each focus group and solo interviewee—that is, six or seven times with the different individuals or groups. But I never challenged anyone's answer by saying, "But X, yesterday, said something quite different." People did challenge each other within a focus group, but I did not use it as a research ploy.

Now, as I describe this culture, I need to mention differences and contradictions in what different people said. Yet I acknowledge the integrity of each person's cultural schemas, so I am reluctant to pit one against another in this analysis. I plan to give each participant a copy of this book, and I assume that some of them will read at least some of it. So, although I shall quote from the transcripts of the interviews, both solo and group, I shall not attribute specific

words to specific named people. Instead I shall use codes. For the solo interviews, I shall refer to Pak A, Pak B, and Pak C. ("Pak" is a term of respect for an older or higher-status male.) In the end I came down on the side of anonymity, although I do thank them by name in the acknowledgements.

In all, we did 108 hours of interviews:

Solo interviews: Pak A, 24 hours in 2000, 4 hours in 2001
Pak B, 12 hours in 2000, 6 hours in 2001
Pak C, 6 hours in 2001

Each of the four focus groups: 1 hour in 1997, 7 hours in 2000, 6 hours in 2001
Total interview hours: 108

Local Ethnography

Minangkabau have long been known as the intellectuals of Indonesia, and there are many books and pamphlets in both Minangkabau and Indonesian that discuss aspects of Minangkabau culture. They comment on Minangkabau law (adat), relate local histories, retell traditional Malay epics (kaba), and collect other sorts of oral literature.

The most interesting publications for our present purposes are those published by Minangkabau authors dealing with Minangkabau understandings of emotions and folk psychology. The late A. A. Navis, journalist and short-story writer, produced a fascinating account of "Minangkabau adat and culture" with the title *Alam Terkembang Jadi Guru* (The Unfolding Nature Becomes Our Teacher). The title itself is a key to understanding Minangkabau culture, and we deal with it below (pp. 48–51). Navis was not an anthropologist, but in this book he reinvented ethnography from a Minangkabau standpoint. Then there is a series of booklets that was written for primary grades two through six, called *Budaya Alam Minangkabau* (Minangkabau Regional Culture). It covers a wide range of topics, including much directly relevant to emotion and folk psychology (Zulkarnaini 1997). There is another primary school series with the same title that covers the same topics but with a different author (Yulfian Azrial). Drg. Abraham Ilyas has written a book called *Nan Empat* (1999). It is an exploration of the importance of the Minangkabau pattern number four (see below, pp. 54–5). And Amir M. S. wrote *Adat Minangkabau: Pola dan Tujuan Hidup Orang Minangkabau*

(Minangkabau Customary Law: Patterns and Goals of Minangkabau Life) (1997). Taken together, this literature, with Gerard Moussay's absolutely essential Minangkabau-Indonesian-French dictionary (1995) has had an important role in this research, for it allows me to check information from the interviews, and often gave ideas to test out with the participants.

Concerning Culture and Variation

This is a study of cultural influences on emotion, so it is good to be explicit about the culture concept that I am working with. Although there is a multitude of definitions of culture, not to mention attempts to deny that it has any meaning whatsoever, I take it to be an essential conceptual tool in dealing with emotion, and use the following definition: Culture is learned, shared, ideas about behavior. Each part of the definition can be discussed (see Heider 2004:32–48), but it touches the important issues.

Defining the Culture

By confining these interviews to middle-aged, middle-class Minangkabau of the Bukittinggi area of West Sumatra, I avoid the cultural heterogeneity that would be included if I had tried to consider all people who consider themselves Minangkabau. But even with this constricted recruitment of subjects, we shall see some variation. The claim, from our definition, that culture is shared is, of course, relative. And the style of presentation that I use here, quoting various informants directly, highlights differences among them. In my earlier writing about a New Guinea culture, I was comfortable making broad generalizations like, "The Dani believe . . . " (see Heider 1970, 1997). I rarely quoted anyone, but boiled things down before presenting them. That style of presentation smooths over within-group differences and conceals the range of understandings that do exist.

And there is the principle of verification, or falsification. I claim here that this account would be closely replicated in both its agreements and its variations by comparable discussions with any other set of middle-class, middle-aged Minangkabau from Bukittinggi. (There must be a temporal qualification here also. A picture composed 50 years ago, or 50 years in the future would certainly be different.)

A second point of our definition of culture says:

culture is ideas about behavior

There are not just random ideas or lists of ideas, but interrelated sets of ideas. I originally called these sets "scenarios" (1991a), but now I settle for the more established term "schemas" (see especially Quinn and Holland 1987, D'Andrade and Strauss 1992, and D'Andrade 1995). People have these sets of ideas, or schemas, about such concepts as anger, or smiles, or appropriate attire. And it is those schemas of emotions that I set out to explore, a journey that soon expanded into a search for schemas about the broader psychological context of emotions. As I mentioned above, when I used a quantitative analysis of questionnaire results from the 1980s stage of this research to construct the three cognitive maps of emotion realms in the three different cultures of emotion, I aimed for the shared construction, the lowest common denominator, that which most Minangkabau presumably would agree on.

But in this stage of the research, I have pulled together statements from the various interviews to produce schemas for the different concepts that are as elaborate and as internally consistent as possible. The results are not especially elegant, but it may be that they are more elaborate and elegant than any one Minangkabau carries about in their minds. In my own desire to "make sense" of some of these concepts, I may have pushed people too far. Fred Errington, an American anthropologist, did fieldwork with Minangkabau living at Lake Maninjau, not far from Bukittinggi, but just beyond the Agam district proper. He remarked that people seemed so eager to please and so willing to speculate that he was able to get an answer to any question (1984). In my case the solo-interview format encouraged the development of schemas to a greater extent than did the give and take of the focus groups.

Thus I need to emphasize that the culture that I have studied and am now presenting is generalized from that of my 21 informants, with variations noted. I am not trying to account for the thinking of all 5 million Minangkabau. Although I shall at times note when the literature agrees with my informants, I shall not try to account for each instance in which the published literature disagrees with my sample. Since I have no reason to suspect that my informants were lying to me, I accept the validity of their account of their own understandings. Much of what they will have to say in these pages will sound familiar to those who know the cultures of other parts

of Minangkabau, of Sumatra, of Indonesia, or even of the Malay World (which includes Malaysia and the Philippines). But the truthfulness of this account cannot be judged against those other truths, elsewhere.

There is to be sure a major problem with this concept of cultural schemas. It is static. And it sounds like some frozen bit of knowledge that is somehow dropped into peoples' minds. Recent thinking about culture has emphasized the dynamic aspect of cultural schemas at the individual level as well as the shared group level. Claudia Strauss and Naomi Quinn have said,

> Meanings generated by schemas, in connectionist models, are mental states but are shaped by the learner's specific experiences and are sensitive to activity in a particular context…they can vary and change. (1997:50)

And Douglas Hollan writes,

> I have argued that cultural processes must be highly dynamic and ever changing because the minds and self-states of the people who embody and enact them are. (2000:545)

The challenge is to represent both the intrapersonal dynamic and the interpersonal dynamic. Here, in these pages, I have quoted my informants in order to suggest some of the interpersonal dynamics and in doing so have obscured some of the dynamics of the individuals' schemas.

Before going on, I should mention two lines of thought here. I shall present several of the elaborated diagrams that Pak A drew for me on his blackboard. I assume that he worked out these diagrams on his own, for my benefit and perhaps for his own students. Now, what is the future of these diagrams? They do become frozen bits, passed on. Will future generations of Minangkabau come across them and incorporate them into their own schemas? Have Pak A's students already done so?

And, more broadly, what of my persistent questioning of these 18 Minangkabau, pushing them to explain to me, in my own logical terms, what for them all their lives has been more implicit, less systematized emotion knowledge? Have I caused a different sort of awareness in their own minds?

And finally, I must repeat how important it is to maintain the distinction between culture and social unit. I characterize the culture

in a relatively narrow sense but still find some variation in the ideas that these informants express. When I say that these Minangkabau live in West Sumatra, Indonesia, this is merely a convenient way to locate them. West Sumatra is a province, a social unit, in which also live people of cultures other than Minangkabau. Indonesia, a maximal social unit, or nation, encompasses a wide range of cultures. To some extent one can in fact speak of an Indonesian culture. Elsewhere I have explored how Indonesian cinema presents, or proposes, a "national culture" to viewers across the archipelago (1991b). And there is, of course, a national language called Indonesian. But the many local languages persist, and most Indonesian learn a local language first, so that when they take up Indonesian it is as a second language and is to some extent shaped by their first language. The actual extent to which the local influences the national needs much study. Elsewhere I have taken a small step in that direction by demonstrating that Minangkabau and Central Javanese people have somewhat different understandings of emotion words when speaking what is often just assumed to be a uniform national language (1991a). It would be unthinkable to describe a national language by combining features of, say, Grand Valley Dani (a Papuan language spoken in Irian Jaya), Minangkabau (an Austronesian language spoken in West Sumatra), and Hokkien (a Chinese language spoken in Jakarta). All speakers are Indonesian citizens, but they can speak quite different languages. Similarly, it is not accurate to describe "Indonesian emotions" on the basis of a collection of data from subjects who may all be Indonesian citizens but who have grown up in quite different cultures. Therefore, I have been careful to define the cultural setting that I am analyzing. And particular attention is paid to variations among my subjects on pages below, and in the case of *nafsu*, "desire," for example, we expand the scope briefly to look at variation across Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula (pp. 185–8).

Chapter 3

Minangkabau Folk Psychology

Folk psychology includes the ideas that people hold about personality, mental attributes and processes, intelligence, and emotions. In recent years much attention has been paid to these ideas in an attempt to avoid imposing outside—and usually Western—psychological concepts on the description and analysis of other cultures. While such approaches have used various labels, I prefer the term folk psychology here. It dates back to Wilhelm Wundt's "Voelkerpsychologie" (see Thomas 2001:1–29). I should note the use of several others such as "ethnopsychology" (White 1992), "indigenous and cultural psychology" (Kim, Yang, and Hwang 2006) and historians' concept of "emotionology" (Stearns and Stearns 1986:14ff). In several of the contributions to the White and Kirkpatrick volume (1985) "ethnopsychology" and "folk psychology" are used interchangeably.

Although during the first stage of this research, in the 1980s, most of my time was spent observing children, the bulk of the data came from questionnaires that posed sets of succinct questions demanding short answers and allowing no clarifying discussions or follow-up questions from me. The effect of using these questionnaires was to isolate emotions, forcing people to treat them as disconnected from the rest of folk psychology. But in this second stage, when I used unstructured, or semi-structured interviews, the conversations that I had begun by asking about emotions were soon broadened by my informants, who related emotions to other psychological features. In the 1980s, I had worked hard to define and maintain the boundary of the emotion realm. In fact with my metaphor of "mapping the landscape," I suggested that emotion could be considered a sort of island with discernable boundaries, albeit an island with tidal flats, a somewhat fuzzy category. That strategy produced a useful first take on emotions. But now I follow the lead of my Minangkabau interlocutors. Although in the actual interviews I still began with emotions, in this analysis it makes more sense to first present the broader psychological principles before working through the emotion realm.

Minangkabau do not speak of any category like "folk psychology." This is my own construction, into which I have loaded a number of disparate ideas, all of which are in some way related to emotion. This includes, for example, an explicit principle often mentioned in the interviews (alam terkembang jadi guru—the unfolding nature is our teacher) and a more implicit principle, the pattern number four, which is made explicit in one context but actually shapes concepts more widely. It includes the process of interaction between rationality and emotion. It includes concepts of personality like the multivalent budi. It includes ideas of how personality is shaped by geography and by gender. And it includes a wide range of ideas about intelligence or wisdom. For Minangkabau, who put so much emphasis on intelligence, this last area is particularly important, and much of this interest in intelligence is directed toward the emotions, toward controlling and concealing one's own emotions, and toward learning to read the emotions of others.

Surprisingly, three concepts that are salient in folk psychologies elsewhere in Indonesia and in Southeast Asia generally, and have been much written about, seem less important to these Minangkabau: *semangat*, the soul matter; *latah*, the hyper-startle syndrome; and amok, the murderous-rampage pattern.

Basic Principles

Alam Terkembang Jadi Guru

One of the most frequently cited phrases in our sessions on Minangkabau culture was alam terkembang jadi guru (alam takambang jadi guru:m), "unfolding nature becomes the teacher." "Alam" has a broad range of meanings in both Indonesian and Minangkabau, but as used in this phrase it means that Minangkabau study and learn from the revelations of the natural environment. Minangkabau like to explain things (which of course meshes nicely with the anthropologist's habit of asking questions), and this saying is often the explanation of last resort. For example, Pak A had been involved with *silek*, the Minangkabau version of Asian martial arts, and several times he told me a story of its origin: how the earliest Minangkabau would climb trees and watch animals fight, and thus learned the different attack and defense styles that they now call the snake, the tiger, the cat, the water buffalo, and the monkey.

"One must protect life and one of the ways to protect life is to defend oneself. Self defense. There is tae kuando, there is sumo, there is karate, there is kempo, there is Minangkabau silat. Silat, that's 'alam terkembang jadi guru.' Silat isn't an imitation of kempo, sumo . . . it's an imitation of nature. How does the water buffalo fight? Our ancestors watched from up in the trees . . . Watching the water buffalo, that's Minangkabau style, it's called 'speed.' It attacks its enemy quickly. Zoom! That speed, in silat, that's the style of water buffalo fighting." 1

(For the original Minangkabau/Indonesian of this and other excerpts from the interviews, turn to the following Web site: http://www.cas.sc.edu.anth.Faculty.HeiderK/Minangkabau-Indonesian%20Emotions%20 Interviews.pdf)

And as we shall see (below, pp. 221–6), figurative speech draws heavily on nature.

Why is nature so important? Even though nearly all of these informants now live in an urban area, the culture that they share is still in important ways imagined as rural, and their basic principles reflect rural life. And of course, it seems logical, even imperative, that any rural people pay close attention to nature. But the Minangkabau seem to be unusual in the degree to which they explicitly attribute their knowledge to nature. And it is suggestive that alam, the word for nature, is the root of pengalaman, the word for experience or knowledge.

In another well-known and much-quoted Minangkabau saying, adaik basandi sarak, sarak basandi adaik, adat is based on shariah; shariah is based on adat. That is, Minangkabau customary law, adat, is based on Islamic law (*syariah*), as Islamic law is in turn based on adat. The very circularity of this saying is a way of denying that there can be any contradiction between adat and syariah. The Minangkabau anthropologist Taufik Abdullah (1966) has cited this as part of his discussion of how Minangkabau manage to reconcile matrilineal adat with patriarchal Islam. But in light of the way in which Minangkabau use alam terkembang jadi guru as the ultimate authority, I would add that Minangkabau, in their ordinary, non-theological discourse, speak as if both shariah and adat are based on the teachings of nature. We shall see, in the following pages, that nature is often appealed to.

Actually, there is a variation on that second saying, which turns it around to: "Adaik basandi sarak, sarak basandi kitabullah," or "custom is based on the syariah, the syariah is based on the message of God," which is to say that adat rests on Islamic teachings.

Moussay's dictionary has only the first, more strongly Minangkabau, version. Is it possible that Moussay, as a Roman Catholic priest, was not told about the more orthodox Muslim version? Kato (1982:101) cites various Minangkabau scholars suggesting that the succession of sayings represents the movement of Minangkabau from a balance between traditional adat and Islam, to the definitively Muslim declaration of the final saying.

Abdullah, in particular, relates this change expressed in the different sayings to the Wahabi movement of the early nineteenth century in West Sumatra. Inspired by Wahabis in Mecca, returning Minangkabau pilgrims led an armed movement to cleanse the homeland and institute a reformed Islam. These events were called the Padri Wars and lasted for more than 20 years. And in place of the earlier saying that had balanced adat and the syariah, the new formulation clearly subordinated Minangkabau adat to Muslim theology. But it is interesting that although all my informants are Muslim, both sayings are familiar to them, and their choice of one or the other depends on the context of the discussion.

As an example of how easily "alam terkembang jadi guru" slips into talk, I quote part of an interview with the first men's focus group. We were discussing nafsu, "desire," (see chapter 4 for a fuller description of nafsu), but the men quickly shifted to *malu*, "shame." I had asked about gender differences in nafsu, and they said (each new speaker begins a new line),

"In ordinary circumstances, there aren't any differences.

—As for nafsu, ordinary circumstances aren't always very rigid, but as for sexual nafsu, perhaps, there are differences according to one's character.

—For women it's more quick to arise.

—For Minangkabau women, if they are nafsu, there are strict limits, lots of feeling ashamed—for women, feeling ashamed is stronger than it is for men.

—So, if there's a woman who has little malu, she is considered less good, but if it's a man, it's just normal—If a man is not sufficiently malu, it's not just normal, it's not malu.

—For example, three of us are walking along, we see a really beautiful woman, and we say, 'Wah! That kid is really beautiful!' But if women are out walking and see a handsome good-looking man, they don't say, 'Wah! Very handsome!' So there are judgements.

—Women are more proper." Why? *"Because there are more rules for malu for women than for men, these are religious rules.*

—Especially, women in Minangkabau are considered as the next matrilineal generation. If a woman isn't good, the child won't be good, so the upbringing of children is emphasized by the mother at home, while the father is out making a career, earning money, making a living, going abroad.

—The basis is the matrilineal 'alam takambang jadi guru.' Animals are observed who are very nurturant of their young, especially the female with her children, but women are certainly nurturant toward their young.

—To take an example, I keep a German shepherd, usually she is very good with me, I beat her in all sorts of ways and she doesn't object, but if she has puppies, she tries to hold on to them, she protects her puppies.

—As an example of 'alam takambang jadi guru,' in Minangkabau the matrilineal basis here is good because it protects the children.

—So in the past, Minangkabau parents studied animals, they even studied carefully dogs with puppies, that is 'alam takambang jadi guru.'" 2

So we had begun with "shame," moved to gender differences in "shame," touched on religion, cited matrilineal principles, but ended up with an appeal to "alam terkembang jadi guru."

Pak A took this relationship to the alam much further, sounding like a modern conservationist, saying that *"we must be friends with the environment. Being friends with the environment is required, the more so because the Minangkabau philosophy of life speaks of the environment in sayings, of the whole environment. Because 'alam terkembang jadi guru.' The saying about the whole world, one must be friends with the world. In fact the datuks are spoken of as great trees in the center of the village."* 3

There are two familiar examples of figurative speech that nicely illustrate this use of natural images. Both use the form: *Ilmu* _____, which I translate first as "the wisdom of the rice" and then, for the negative image, as "the way of the frog."

The Wisdom of the Rice

Makin berisi, makin runduk—the fuller, the lower. This saying is called "ilmu padi," "The wisdom of the rice." It means that if the rice stalk is not full it stands upright, but if it is full of rice grains then it bows low. And that is the opposite of sombong, it is a kind of humility that comes with true wisdom. But the rice can be

bangga, that's all right, that can please the people. This saying is particularly interesting because the issue of arrogance is so central to Minangkabau psychology, as we shall see in the next chapter. It is also linguistically of interest because it has the two levels of title, "The wisdom of the rice" and , more specifically, "The fuller, the lower."

As I was nearing the end of my stay in 2001, I tried to turn the conversations toward emotions that were particular to Minangkabau. Pak B generally resisted this line of thought, but he was willing to consider humility—rendah hati—as a special Minangkabau trait: *"I began with rendah hati earlier—rendah hati, that's certainly a teaching, or doctrine, for Minangkabau, such that everyone has the attribute of rendah hati. Rendah hati does not mean abasing oneself. Rendah hati means—oh—not feeling bangga about our abilities, or sombong, like we discussed in our meetings a year ago. There is a saying about budi: 'The wisdom of the rice'—we have to know it—'the fuller, the lower'—that's rendah hati. It doesn't mean abasing oneself. Although we are rendah hati, not boasting of our abilities…we treat others according to the saying, 'standing equally high, sitting equally low.' Probably the only differences are in terms of knowledge, but in self-esteem as humans, there are not allowed to be any differences."* 58

The cover photograph of this book represents this example of figurative speech.

Other cultures in the rice-growing areas of Asia have similar images. Karen Fisher-Nguyen cites as an expression of humility this Khmer proverb:

> The immature rice plant stands erect, while
> The mature stalk, heavy with grain, bends over.

And Fisher-Nguyen explains, " Khmer parents teach their children to humble themselves and show respect toward superiors and elders by stooping over when they walk near them. In Khmer, the word aon is used to describe this show of respect as well as to describe the bending over of the mature rice stalk. Seen in the rice plant, it is an indication of the bounty, richness, and maturity of the grain. In a person, it indicates a good upbringing, good character, and respect." (1994:93). However, none of the other proverbs in Fisher-Nguyen's collection have analogs to the Minangkabau sayings. Koreans, also, have a similar saying that, like the Khmer, emphasizes the maturity of the bent over rice plant and, by analogy, the maturity of

the humble person (Dr. Eui Hang Shin, personal communication, March 2003). It is interesting that both the Khmer and the Korean versions use the idea of maturity, while the Minangkabau seem to speak of simply the fullness—the word "isi" refers only to quantity, not to quality. But one should probably not draw broad cultural conclusions from this difference.

Although it is not surprising that rice farmers think metaphorically about ripening rice stalks, Chinese have a quite different take on it. Rohsenow has compiled "A Chinese-English Dictionary of Enigmatic Folk Similies (xiehouyu)" (1991). These xiehouyu have two parts, the first fairly enigmatic, the second usually somewhat explanatory. Often a speaker uses only the first, leaving it to knowledgeable listeners to fill in the meaning. One of Rohsenow's examples is "ripening rice ears—[lit] with head hanging," which means "sad, unhappy, depressed." (1991:20)

The Way of the Frog

The frog, as a negative model for human action, came up when I was discussing order and disorder with Pak B, and he cautioned:

> *Yes, an atmosphere of confusion, that's influenced by the way of thinking. According to me. An atmosphere of confusion, an atmosphere of disorder, then we really aren't thinking. There's no firm direction. It is hard for us to solve a problem when the atmosphere is confused. We have to create an atmosphere of calm, and then we can think more constructively. That's my opinion. Before we do, or act, we first have to think calmly. The atmosphere must be comfortable, not confused. Thus, Minangkabau can't use the way of the frog, the ilmu loncek, in the local language. The way of the frog. If the frog is startled, he jumps, just jumps right off, without thinking. That's strongly disparaged by Minangkabau. Thus, when Minangkabau are in a situation, they have to analyze, to first create a situation—to think calmly. And then act. That's sort of a philosophy, I don't know—but certainly Minangkabau have to—they mustn't even use the way of the frog, the ilmu loncek.* 23

When I asked Pak A about the way of the frog, he said, "*It just jumps around without thinking. So, there is a saying, 'Think before you speak, have a friend before you set off on a trip.' That means, if you want to speak, think first. If you want to travel, look for a friend. 'Bertolan,'—'tolan,' that's a friend. A comrade. So, if you want to travel far away, look for a friend. If you are alone, 'travel*

alone, you get lost; if two travel, it's in vain. If three travel, things go well'…So, thinking, that's the lamp that lights the way for the heart. Minangkabau say, 'Thought lights the heart.' " And then he expanded: " *'pikir itu pelita hati, nanang sarugo akal.' That means through meditating, pondering, you reach the heights of intelligence.*" 24

This "way of the frog," as an image of impetuous action, is formed on the same principle as "the wisdom of the rice," the image of humility. In the case of the frog, the word ilmu is used more ironically, and here I have translated it as "the way of the frog." Both images draw on nature to present a personality trait as wisdom/non-wisdom, but both derive from the teaching of nature.

Both ilmu padi and ilmu loncek were used, unprompted by me, in interviews. A third similar construction, ilmu lintabuang, also occurred, but I suspect that it was an ingenious ad hoc response to my probing. It makes sense. Lintabuang is a common nonedible grass. Its seeds are not heavy enough to pull down the stalk, so it always grows vertically. Thus it is a logical, if not particularly traditional, contrast to the rice plant.

The Pattern Number Four: Nan Empeh

It is common for cultures to have a pattern number. There is often some fairly low number like three, four, or five, that is repeatedly used for culturally important sets. Thus, for Christian Europe three is "the magic number" (see Dundes 1968). From the Holy Trinity to baseball, from folktales to the names of television networks, three recurs as the significant number. "The Four Little Pigs" or "Goldilocks and the Four Bears" just doesn't work. Yet, in Native American and the circumpolar Arctic, the pattern number is either four or five.

For Minangkabau, four is the dominant pattern number. That means there is a strong tendency to sort things into four categories, or to give four explanations for something. We shall come across the effects of four again and again. The most notable concerns the four possible levels of speech, each appropriate to a certain relative status between two people. We shall discuss this at length below (pp. 96–100), but now we can just note that a person who does not know or use the appropriate level is said to "not know the four." (In Java, where speech levels are much more important, there is considerable uncertainty as to just how many levels there actually are.)

The pattern number four is taken to an extreme in a book by Drg. Abraham Ilyas (Drg. is a dentistry title) called *Nan Empat: Dialektika, Logika, Sistematika, Alam Terbang* (1999). The title itself is curious—Nan (Yang:i) Empat (Empeh:m) is a mix of Indonesian and Minangkabau. Nan is a Minangkabau word here equivalent to "the," and empat is Indonesian for four. The author draws on Arabic and Minangkabau, on body types and blood types, on management processes, and American Four H Club slogans. It goes far beyond what most Minangkabau generally know, but it does illustrate how pattern numbers shape one's categorization processes. And we shall see other instances where Minangkabau sort psychological processes into their pattern number four.

But it must also be noted that three is a sort of secondary pattern number. There are sets of three's that act as pattern numbers: for example, the Minangkabau heartland is considered to be in three parts, and each part, or *luhak*, has three well-known attributes (see below, pp. 79–83). In this case, three acts as a pattern number because logically one could claim that the heartland, the highland area of relatively pure Minangkabau population, might as easily be divided into four (cf. Dobbin 1983:2), or even five areas (e.g., both the Lake Maninjau basin, and the Lake Singkarak/Solok area might have been considered a separate luhak.) I think that basically, Minangkabau are not so much wedded to a single pattern number as much as their proclivity for intellectualizing results in these sorts of neat sets, whether three or four.

Basic Psychological Processes

Raso jo pareso (m)—emotion and reason

Raso is cognate to the Sanskrit rasa, which is the key word in early Hindu poetics, where there was much theorizing about emotion (see below, pp. 91–6). *Pareso* is related to the Indonesian *periksa*, examination. So it is not stretching things too far to translate the phrase as "emotion and reason." Pareso occurs in the head, in the brain, and raso, emotion, is seated in the hati, or liver.

But this phrase is key to Minangkabau folk psychology. It is perhaps the most illusive statement about that folk psychology. The simple translation into English only hints at its meanings. We need to go beyond words to try to explain it in Minangkabau cultural terms, for its meanings do not make much sense if we try to locate it in ideas of Western folk psychologies.

We begin by saying that pareso is the intellectual analytical examination of an act or situation that occurs in the head, in the brain, while raso, emotion, considers the cultural appropriateness of the same act or situation. Information is channeled to both brain and liver.

In their formulation of perception, Minangkabau say that sensory input abut an act or situation comes via the *panca indera*, a Sanskrit phrase meaning the five senses, but also for some invoking the Hindu god Indra. These five senses are vision, touch, smell, taste, and hearing. (These are the same five senses that Aristotle discussed in *De Anima*.) There is an interaction, a balancing (imbau:i) between raso and pareso:

> Pareso dibawa turun
> Raso dibau naik.
> Reason is carried down
> Emotion is carried up.

This saying sums up the process.

I asked Pak A: Is there a science of emotion in Minangkabau? The attributes of the soul (*jiwa*) relate to the brain. But is there also a science of emotion relating to the hati (liver)?

Pak A: *Let's get into that.* [He draws a diagram.] *Here is the brain. Here is the liver. The brain talks. The liver has raso. The brain has pareso. Pareso, it can go deep, look for knowledge. That's the brain. According to Minangkabau, the liver has emotion, raso. For Minangkabau, the basis of thought, if you want to act, to do something, you think with the brain, you do a task, but you have to take it down to the liver first.*

I interjected: First to the hati?

Pak A: *Yes, first to there. Thinking is work. Emotions are good, but if you just act, who knows what might happen!*

Pak A continued, patiently: *Something is possible but not proper (patut:i). With raso comes propriety. Pareso is the possible. But for sure, every possibility isn't proper. That's the way of thinking. According to Minangkabau custom, then, things are circular. There is the thinking in the brain, it is carried down to the heart.* 4

Another phrase parallels this:

> Patuik jo mungkin (:m)
> Proper and possible.

Later I pursued this line of thought with Pak C, saying: I still don't get "raso jo pareso." If suddenly there is a tiger, it's real, and you don't need to think it over, you just run.

Pak C agreed: "*You don't need to examine (periksa) it further because you see clearly the danger. But if a person laughs . . . it's not clear—you need to examine it first. It's not certain, you don't know exactly. If there is a tiger, that's definite. But if a person speaks nicely, you don't know, he may be deceiving you. Raso jo pareso.*"

Pak C quotes a saying: "'*It's not unreasonable that the weaverbird builds its nest near the ground*' *You know the weaverbird? It's a bird, when the rice ripens, it builds its home in the branches of a coconut palm near the rice field to eat the rice. So why does it nest by the rice field? So low? . . . There must be a reason. Namely, 'It's not unreasonable that the weaverbird builds its nest near the ground.' Certainly it's a problem, eating—it nests low down because it wants to eat easily, near the rice field. So, to fully understand it, we have to really use raso jo pareso.*" 5

As Pak C responds to my example of suddenly seeing a tiger, he makes a distinction between the immediate, obvious danger of the tiger and the emotionally complex interaction with another person who may be smiling but whose actual attitude must be processed through the interaction between the raso and the pareso. He says, "*Raso is something halus—if a tiger appears it's not raso anymore, it's already obvious.*"

Halus is most often used for a refined, genteel person. One thinks of upper-class Javanese, or Javanese court culture, as being halus. Or very finely executed batik cloth is halus. But there is also the "orang halus," an invisible spirit, a person so refined as to be no longer visible. Now the tiger appears, and it is not halus but very visible, so it is no longer in the halus realm of rasa but of nyata, "obvious, evident, real, tangible" (Echols and Shadily 1989:313).

Pak C continues: "*But rasa is a level below thought. For example, you see a man, see him clearly. Why clearly? Because he has just been examined. Maybe he has finished bathing, or he is happy. That's pareso. Thus the tiger isn't raso anymore, but obvious, because raso is tied to emotion.*"

I push him: There's a tiger, then I see it, then there's pareso or raso? Or what? "*Oh, it doesn't need to be examined further because you know. Raso is at an 'elementar' level below knowing. Then in order to continue, it has to be examined. But if there is really a tiger, it's already clear. No need to be examined, because you already know, there's no more raso and no more periksa, you just run.*"

I try again: You run without raso jo pareso? Just run? "*Yes. It's already at the level of certainty, of truth. But if you have raso jo pareso, it's still at the level of wanting to know everything for certain. When we investigate further, for example: there's a person*

smiling. Why is the person smiling? Or what is going on? We try to investigate whether he is happy or cynical or disdainful." 6

The balancing interaction between raso and pareso is essential to the shaping and controlling of behavior. Where this balance is absent, reactive behavior is epitomized as ilmu loncek (:m), the way of the frog . The frog, who doesn't have raso jo pareso, simply jumps without considering the situation, and lands in trouble.

This strongly contrasts with Western folk psychology, where the rational mind controls the impulsive heart. However, for Minangkabau it is the emotion work of the hati that enforces cultural norms of propriety, while the intellectual work of the mind would explore all possibilities, regardless of consequences.

What is the status of this concept? Generally, people seemed to be familiar with it and could respond to my questions about it, but it did not seem to be very salient in their thinking about emotion. Unlike the frequent use of alam terkembang jadi guru as an explanation, very rarely was raso jo pareso volunteered in the course of our conversations. It seems quite esoteric, and there seemed to be no coherent authoritative account of it, at least among my informants. In some senses it approaches the ideas of what we now call appraisal (see Scherer, Schorr, and Johnstone 2001), but only in a general sort of way.

Pak C seemed to agree that not everyone can use raso jo pareso. He said that it was really limited to "orang *pandai*, intelektual," to people with a particular, instantaneous intuition for reading the emotions of another: *"Raso jo pareso, it's usually in Minangkabau, what's called a pandai person, 'intelektual,' pandai. That's not sufficient, you have to add cerdik. Cerdik, that's like 'wisdom.' Cadiak-pandai, you have to have both. If there's only one, that's not enough. But with 'wisdom' you can read the emotions of someone else. Like the saying, 'As soon as the fish flashes in the water you know if it is male or female.'"* 7

This emphasis on the intellectual elite recurs throughout the interviews.

What it Means to be Minangkabau: Basic Personality Concepts

Words for "Personality"

Minangkabau are very much interested in the subject of this book, folk psychology and emotions, and they use these ideas

to talk about what it means to be Minangkabau. The following sections discuss some of the relevant schemas. They have several concepts that cover basically what the English term "personality" refers to. These terms were used casually and interchangeably by the informants in the interviews, but did not seem to be clearly differentiated in a particular Minangkabau theory of personality. Two terms, *kodrat* and fitra, were recognized as coming from the Arabic with Islamic overtones, and were taken to apply to qualities given by Allah and fixed at birth. For example, the Islamic restrictions on women were explained as being necessary because of "women's kodrat." The other terms are either from Europe (temperamen) or basic Malay (kepribadian, perangai, tabiat, pembawaan, watak, and kurenah). All of these referred to qualities that could change or develop over time under the influence of parents or other social contacts. One of these terms, kepribadian, seems restricted to academic use, especially in the anthropological literature both translated by and written by Indonesian anthropologists.

Budi

Budi is both a common term and also a common man's name in Indonesia. The Echols-Shadily Indonesian dictionary gives meanings such as (1) mind, (2) character, (3) sensibleness, and (4) cunning (1989:91). But the English definitions of budi in both Indonesian and Javanese give only a taste of what these Minangkabau brought out in the interviews. For them it is the highest (*bertinggi*) virtue, it is elevated, the peak (mengagungkan, literally mountainized). It is a doctrine, or tenet (ajaran-ajaran).

And Pak B quoted this pantun:

Pandan Island is far out in the ocean	Pulau Pandan jauh di tengah
Beyond Two Goose Island.	Dibalik Pulau Angsa Dua.
The body rots in the grave	Hancur badan di kandung tanah
Good budi is remembered.	Budi baik dikenang juga.

Budi is basically doing good for others without expectation of reward, although this understanding is considerably modified in practice. And budi has a related, or secondary meaning of good manners, or proper behavior. A common couplet says:

Yang baik budi
Yang indah baso

Budi is good
Proper behavior is beautiful

A person who does good can be referred to as berbudi, and to do good is to "plant budi" (bertanam budi). Although in other contexts one plants in order to harvest later, this expectation of return is often flatly rejected, as in this couplet:

Ado ubi ado taleh
Ado budi ado baleh
On the one hand is sweet potato, on the other hand is taro
On the one hand is budi, on the other hand is repayment

This means that just as sweet potato and taro are two different plants, so there is (or should be) no connection between budi and repayment.

Pak A used the Arabic words for faith (*iman*) and piety (*takwa*) to link budi to Islamic belief, quoting:

Makin banyak ilmu di dalam	The more one has wisdom
Makin banyak iman di dalam.	The more one has faith.
Takwa di dalam, budi di dalam	One has piety, one has budi.
Itu makin bagus sinar.	One glows with goodness.

Another well-known couplet describes budi from the perspective of the recipient:

Utang mas dapat dibayar
Utang budi dibawa mati.
The debt of gold can be repaid
The debt of budi must be carried to one's grave.

This puts a somewhat different spin on the matter of repayment. Explicitly, the debt of budi cannot ever be wiped out or repaid. To see how it works out in practice, we can look at *Salah Asuhan*, one of the first and still one of the best-known novels in Indonesian. It was written by Abdoel Muis, a Minangkabau, published in 1928, and made into a movie in 1972. It explicitly illustrates the utang budi couplet.

Hanafi, a young Minangkabau man, had been given an expensive education in the Netherlands, paid for by his (matri) clan. Hanafi's mother's brother, who is the leader of the local lineage segment of their matri—clan—has been responsible for helping Hanafi, and

now expects him to marry the uncle's daughter, Hanafi's first cousin, a preferred marriage in Minangkabau traditional terms. But Hanafi is infatuated with Corrie, a Eurasian woman. When she spurns him, he agrees to marry his cousin. Later he deserts her to marry Corrie. He mistreats Corrie, she dies, he returns home to beg forgiveness of his mother (but not of his cousin or his uncle) and kills himself. His mother blames herself for bringing Hanafi up badly. (The title, *Salah Asuhan*, means "wrong upbringing.")

The moral is that Hanafi has tried to reject the lifelong obligations that he incurred from both his mother, who brought him up, and his uncle, who educated him. He has become too Dutch and no longer understands or respects Minangkabau custom. In this reading, then, the debt of budi cannot be paid off as if it were a loan of money. Those who plant budi (in this case a mother, a mother's brother, and a clan) have forged a lifelong moral obligation. Thus, the word utang (or hutang) covers both "debt" (something that can be repaid) and "obligation" (something that is lifelong). And both debt and obligation are the definitions in the Echols and Shadily dictionary, but without the qualification.

In his seminal "Essai sur le Don," 1924, Marcel Mauss assembled instances of delayed reciprocity that had been described in the ethnographic literature by that time, most famously the kula exchange of the Trobriand Islands (Malinowski 1922). Mauss described the "don" (which is normally translated as "gift") as necessary to give, necessary to receive, and necessary to reciprocate. The Minangkabau understanding of budi takes a step further by emphasizing that it is an ongoing obligation that cannot be terminated.

The absence of budi, in the sense of good character, is likened to a hibiscus flower (common in West Sumatra). Its color and size make it dramatic, but the hibiscus has no perfume. Another pantun speaks to the importance of budi in forging personal ties. The cryptic bagungung karena budi, separated because of budi, was explained thus: if there is no budi, we have no friendships (kareno tidak budi kita tidak bersahabat) and, further, "We are divorced if there are no manners."

This association of budi with manners is common. Budi is not just a refined emotion (rasaan yang halus), it is, like *baso-basi*, good manners and good etiquette (*tatakrama, tatacara*), it is being considerate (*tenggang rasa*) (see below, pp. 74–5) As an example, one man said that for a youth to bring a girlfriend (one who is not a fiancée or wife) home to meet his parents was improper, and showed a lack of budi (menerut adat kurang budi). This would be against the traditional

village pattern where families arrange marriages, and such initiative on the part of the son is indeed acting counter to custom.

The origin of the principle of budi is something that several Minangkabau spontaneously speculated on, but they drew all sorts of conclusions: budi came from the pre-Malay inhabitants of the islands; it came from Buddhism (and one man tried to distinguish a Minangkabau budi from a Buddhist budi); the Prophet Mohammed brought it; it is from Minangkabau custom (adat); and one man said that all religions know budi. And Pak B went so far as to say that all religions, Hindu, Buddhist, Islam, and Christianity, all have the same emotions.

Budi is certainly one of the most complex concepts that we are dealing with here. The understandings of budi that were put forward by this small set of Minangkabau are just a fraction of all possible uses of the term. Lim Kim-Hui, of the National University of Malaysia, has tried to synthesize and analyze Malay understandings of the word on a much higher level. He says, "Budi now carries many nuances of meanings in the Malay world view and plays a pivotal role in every aspect of Malay life" (2003:31). The same could perhaps be said of Minangkabau, but Lim does not tell us whom he has in mind by his "Malays." Indeed, there is in the southwestern part of the Malay peninsula, in Malaysia, an old sultanate of Minangkabau refugees from Sumatra. But there is a fair amount of cultural variation among Malaysian Malays, and presumably in his detailed discussion of Malay budi he means to generalize about all of them.

Minangkabau Intelligences

Minangkabau have long been known in Indonesia as intellectuals. Many scholars have remarked on the theme of Minangkabau intelligence, especially as it has been balanced or opposed by Javanese mystical charisma (e.g., Naim 1983). This is expressed by recognizing pairs of leaders for important events, where an exuberant Javanese is linked with a rational Minangkabau. Indonesian independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945, by Sukarno (a Javanese who became the first president of the new nation) and Hatta (a Minangkabau who served as vice president), and this pairing was expressed on an implicit level in Indonesian currency. For decades the major Indonesian coin, the 100 rupiah piece, showed a Minangkabau great house on one side and a Javanese wayang puppet figure on the other.

Although Minangkabau intelligence is celebrated, it would be difficult to argue that Minangkabau are somehow more intelligent than other Indonesians. The point is that Minangkabau, fully aware of their own reputation, talk about their own intelligence to a great extent. This is an important part of being Minangkabau. Minangkabau are also famous for out-migration—merantau—in which young men (and now increasingly young families) travel to the rantau, to places beyond the heartland. They send money home and usually return home themselves eventually. Minangkabau are quite aware that their province of West Sumatra has little in the way of natural resources. Unlike Aceh, Riau, Papua, and other parts of Indonesia, there is no oil and no copper. The only significant industry in West Sumatra is a cement factory near Padang. But, say Minangkabau, we export brains.

And when talking about why Minangkabau leave home, people mention two goals: the first named is usually learning, or wisdom, or experience that results from formal schooling or from work experiences. Money as a goal of travel is mentioned as a second thought. Pak A and I were discussing the movement of Minangkabau youths away from the villages. He said, *"It has become very difficult, because they don't feel any responsibility toward their villages and in fact they out-migrate to gain knowledge and money, for 'the stomach is not full, the back is not covered.' 'The stomach is not full' refers to the economic situation, and 'the back is not covered' is about knowledge. For if a villager, who is uneducated, does manual labor, he takes off his shirt when heavy things have to be lifted. So, this uneducated person sells his labor. Thus, 'his back is not covered.' That's an uneducated person. He goes abroad…so that he doesn't have to take off his shirt anymore to sell his labor, because a person who has an education doesn't sell his labor anymore, he sells his thinking. That's the point of out-migration. There is a pantun:*

> *The mulberries and magnolias upstream*
> *Are not yet flowering.*
> *The youth should first go abroad*
> *There's nothing doing in the village for him yet."* 9

The second women's focus group explained this well-known pantun, saying,

> *"it means that one strives for knowledge abroad."*

Boys?

> *"Boys, because until they are knowledgeable, they aren't of any use, they can't do anything, but once they get knowledge, they are smart, they know how to do things, they can come home successful, and they can begin to build up their home with the knowledge that they have acquired."*

But do women also go abroad?

> *"Today, it's the same for women and men."* 10

The remittances from out-migrants are a major contribution to the West Sumatra village economy. They finance schools and provide scholarships for students. But when these Minangkabau speak to me about out-migration they stress the educational experience above the money. And, as we shall see, there is much talk elaborating various sorts of intelligence. This raises the questions of my own influence on the talk that I am reporting. To what extent did I encourage and even provoke this emphasis? Everyone knew that I was a professor, that I taught at a university in the United States and, when in West Sumatra, I taught at Andalas, the provincial university in Padang. People appreciated that I myself had travelled far from home in search of knowledge, a mirror image of their own merantau pattern. I cannot begin to estimate how all this may have triggered their presentation of their own culture. But here, in the next pages, is what people told me about Minangkabau intelligences.

Cerdik/Pintar/Tahu—Clevernesses

We have many ways to evaluate others. We make judgements about beauty or handsomeness, about goodness and morality, about personality (e.g., outgoing or shy), and also about intelligence. These areas, taken broadly, may be pan-cultural, but the specific details are certainly culturally constructed.

To discuss what it means to be Minangkabau, they use many words to express judgements about this general area of intelligence, but the most common are cerdik (cadiak:m), pandai, and *tahu*. These three words may be linked, as when they say that a leader must have all three attributes and when choosing a friend one looks for all three:

> Piliah-piliah kawan bakanti
> Aso cadiak, kaduo pandai

Katigo urang mentahu
Choosing a friend
First comes cadiak, second comes pandai
The third a person mentahu.

And, alluding to the feeling that a person should ideally have all three, the following analogy is used:

Tali tigo sa pilim
Tengku tigo sajaran.
The rope is made of three strands,
The clay pot rests on three rocks (in the hearth).

Cadiak is a multivalent attribute. It can refer to the ability of a smaller, weaker individual to overcome a larger, stronger opponent by some sort of mental agility.

Specific to Minangkabau is the well-known story explaining how the term "Minangkabau" came about. We shall revisit it later (pp. 72–3), but briefly, a water buffalo calf (representing Minangkabau) kills a grown water buffalo (representing Java) by trickery. The story contains two basic cultural themes. One is the principle of indirection (see pp. 97–100). Direct confrontation is avoided in Minangkabau interpersonal relationships. This is true not only in conflict situations but also whenever there is a chance that a negative outcome of a request, for example, might bring shame or embarrassment. The legendary conflict between water buffalos acting on behalf of social groups is replicated today in West Sumatra in the so-called bull fights, advertised to tourists but also avidly watched by Minangkabau, who bet on their favorites (much like the cockfights in Java). Each animal represents a village, not a single owner. This sort of animal-surrogate competition is also common in the Minangkabau homeland, where there are races between horses, or ducks, or even, reportedly, eels.

The second theme in the buffalo story is cerdik, the attribute that allows the small to win out over the large. This story can be compared with that of David and Goliath, another foundational story where small beats large. But David uses his sling, with the skill that he developed from protecting his flocks from predators, to kill the giant Philistine. There is no trickery, merely physical skill. In contrast, the Minangkabau parallel employs animal surrogates and trickery.

And in an allusion that is somewhat obscure to non-sailors, the outrigger of a classic Malay boat is called a cerdik, for it allows the craft to ride above waves. In other similes, cerdik was likened to a

casuarina tree in the mountains that bends in the wind but does not break, or, in politics, to a person without convictions who always survives.

Cerdik can have a negative sense also. If a datuk is called cerdik only, that is an insult (itu mala, itu hinaan). A cerdik leader like a datuk may be able to make peace between people, but he may just be dishonest or deceitful. Pak A was more inclined than others to add a negative possibility to cerdik. One day he had drawn for me on his blackboard a diagram as depicted in table 3.1.

Pandai and tahu do not seem to have the ambiguity of cadiak. They refer more to learning, they are developed through education. But another informant came close to Pak A's diagram (above), saying that a cerdik person benefits only himself, a pandai person benefits his group, or clan, but a person with tahu can benefit the entire world. Tahu is associated with ilmu, which is itself an ambiguous word. Its meanings range from science, like physics, to witchcraft. But in common with tahu, ilmu certainly has a positive connotation, as

Table 3.1 Pak A's schema of cerdik (cadiak), tahu, and pandai (with my English translations)

CADIAK	1. Lekas mengert (tanggap)	bermanfaat untuk kepentingan bersama
	Quick to grasp (perceptive)	used for the common interest
TAHU	2. Pandai mencari *akal*	dan kepentingan yang baik-baik
	Clever endeavor	and for the sake of good
PANDAI	3. Pintar dan berilmu	
	Smart and knowledgeable	
	4. berakal (panjang akal)	
	smart (clever)	
CADIAK	1. *Galir*	hanya untuk kepentingan
	Agile	only used for selfish
cadiak	2. Licin	diri sendiri dan cenderung negatif
	Cunning	interests and negative tendencies
buruak	3. *Licik*	
	Sly	
	4. pandai menipu	
	cheating	

in, the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI), the Indonesian National Science Foundation, to which so many of us are indebted for help with research visas. Moussay defines cadiak pandai as someone who is "habile et sage," clever and wise (1995:222).

Tajam—"Sharp"

A closely related concept is expressed in metaphor: it is sharpness, *tajam*, that is achieved by being ground or sharpened (*diasah*). These words refer to cutting tools like knives or axes, but they also can mean an acute perception that allows one to read an opponent's moves in dominoes from nonverbal cues, or to read inner thoughts or emotions from facial expressions and other behavior. Tajam is likened to having good antenna. In speaking of tajam, people quote "piciak jangek, sakik diawak, sakik diurang" (pinching the skin—if we hurt, others hurt) and "lamak liawak, katuju diurang" (if it's pleasant for us, others feel the same). One can become more tajam through ilmu, through experience or through age. It can be taught to children by posing riddles (teka-teki), and in fact riddles were frequently used in child rearing in the past for this purpose. (Echols and Shadily notes the phrase pengasah otak as "brain teaser, brain twister," literally "brain sharpener," 1997:30). When I asked Pak C if it were possible to teach tajam, he said, *"You can teach it to your children and nephews and nieces."* How? What do you say? *"It's the duty of uncles to teach their nephews and nieces. Then, if they do wrong, it's the uncle's malu."* 11

Pak A said that the ability to discern another's emotions is an expertise, like that of a jeweler judging gems:
"A person who is skillful, as a jeweler knows gems. That means an expert in gems knows gems. If he is not an expert, he doesn't know them. Ordinary people don't know them." 12

And later Pak A talked about how children's skills are developed. *"Emotions are trained. It involves practice, playing dominoes. That game trains the emotions, it sharpens the emotions… We play with a friend for a partner. He holds a seven tile, but we can't see it. So, what does he hold? That sharpens the emotions, because he can't send me a code. If he uses a code, that's not good, it's not legal. But from his movements, his nervousness, his rising and falling breath, we can read if he has a good tile or a bad tile… That sharpens the emotions so that the emotions can comprehend a person—what he is thinking, what we think—that's called 'before there's light it's dark.'"* (Moussay gives the complete saying as "before there's

light, it's dark, it's exactly the 30th of the month" [1995:616]—i.e., the end of the lunar month—meaning that one knows precisely.) *"Before there is the light he can already appraise . . . that's sharp! The emotions are sharp. There are lots of things like that—the indirect speech and allusive couplets all sharpen the emotions. Children are taught young . . . they are posed riddles which sharpen the brain and sharpen the emotions."* And then he gave an example of a riddle: *"An umbrella but not a Rajah, scales but not a fish."* (The answer: a pineapple.) 13

The interviews provided many hints about how Minangkabau children learned to read the emotion behavior. Unfortunately, by spending my time with these adult interviews (and more time transcribing them), I saw little of Minangkabau children. Ironically, during my two years residence in the 1980s, I did extensive observations of children but rarely saw the sorts of sharpening interactions discussed here. It sounds as if the men are the main teachers of tajam, but I always visited during the day, when men tended to be out of the house. Obviously, future research might well try to target tajam training sessions.

One of my (middle-aged) informants complained that the youth today are not tajam but tumpul (dull), partly because they are not being sharpened with riddles. Pak C insisted that tajam is a skill developed and maintained in Minangkabau villages. Those who outmigrate and live abroad loose their acuity. He said, *"One becomes tajam through experience. In daily interaction one often makes mistakes and then these are examined: 'Oh, that was wrong.' And then one studies further by experience, so Minangkabau socialize a lot in the village. Through the village interaction one studies the mistakes that arise . . . So when someone goes abroad the opportunities are limited and he isn't tajam anymore."* Although before, he was tajam, and now he isn't tajam anymore? *"No. If he lives abroad where he doesn't have any experience with village life, he is less tajam."* But maybe he interacts with other sorts of people abroad? *"Yes, but the atmosphere is different because generally in other lands they speak 'to the point' [in English]. But in the village they use indirect speech. And abroad one experiences direct speech."* 14

But it is not just the brain (otak) that can be thus sharpened. Emotions, also, are sharpened with knowledge (Jadi menasah raso itu dengan ilmu). (See the interacting raso jo pareso, pp. 55–8).

When I asked if there are gender differences, Pak A said, *"I feel it's this way: for women really the instinctive emotions are sharper . . . Men, their brains and emotions are in balance. But women, their emotions are stronger than their thinking . . . Emotions*

are more prominent in women here. Probably that's different in America. But for Minangkabau it's more like that." 15

It is tempting to map these Indonesian concepts on English words. So, cerdik is in the clever-wily-sly area; pandai and tahu in the smart/wise/knowledgeable area, ilmu is knowledge. It is tajam that is most different, and thus most interesting. Tajam is an active, operational, developed understanding of others, if anything close to empathy. (see Throop and Hollan 2008) or the interpersonal intelligence, one of Howard Gardner's "Multiple Intelligences" (1993:9 and 1999:43) or, more specifically, the emotional intelligence of Peter Salovey (Salovey and Mayer 1990).

Galia/Galir—Another Minangkabau Intelligence

A. A. Navis, the Minangkabau writer, discussed another sort of intelligence in an interview with the national newspaper *Kompas* (July 31, 2001). He said that although Minangkabau are accused of being *pelit* ("stingy") and licik ("sly," "crafty," "tricky," "cagey," "wily"), in fact they are galir (galia:m) ("glib," "fluent," "articulate," "agile," "nimble," "spry"). When I asked about these words, my informants greeted them with amused recognition, and agreed wholeheartedly with Navis. The range of the dictionary translations gives some idea of the meanings of these words. Then Navis quoted a couplet in Minangkabau to explain what he meant by galia:

Tahimpik nak di ateh	Crowded, wants to be on top
Takuruang nak di lua	Caged, wants to be outside.

This couplet was often used in connection with galia, but it is fairly opaque even by Minangkabau standards. To expand the literal meaning a bit, it says, "If one is trapped, one wants to be on top, if one is locked up, one wants to be outside." Moussay glosses this as meaning that one tries to get a profit without taking a risk, one is not willing to assume the consequences of one's acts (1995:458). This is an unusually grand jump from the literal to the figurative meaning, but I explored it with the focus groups.

A women's group said,

" If one is galia, one wants to work little and earn a lot. If someone else works hard and he does only a little and they get the same payoff, that's galia, that's related to licik."

I ask about what Pak Navis meant?

"He means that one uses ingenuity, some sort of ingenuity… For example, if there is a problem, he doesn't want to give up, he works out how he can overcome that problem by whatever means." 16

The second men's group explained in more detail:

"Galia, that's close to licik… licik includes something a bit criminal, like trickery… but as for galia, that's an attribute that's pretty honest… it can be positive, it can be negative. Galia, that's for a person who is never troubled by problems, who can avoid problems."

I ask for an example.

"On a job, for example, a difficult job, there's a group of four men, the four men can be mixed, a Minangkabau, a Javanese, an Acehnese, and a Batak, whose assignments are all the same, but the Minangkabau man naturally moves from the hard work to the easier work, he looks for a way out… and people aren't offended."

I ask if people aren't angry?

"That's galia. But if someone is licik, most people would be angry." 17

When I asked the first men's group if Navis was right in characterizing Minangkabau as galia, they said,

"To sum it up briefly, there are lots of strategies to solve a problem.

—We dislike being frontal.

—We dislike facing something directly, search for other ways.

—We don't like to do things crudely, but react in a refined way, it's politic.

—It seems to me that galia is a strategy to turn a problem into something profitable for oneself. One doesn't want to loose, but to benefit oneself. For example, there is something that is divided with you, and I take a bit more for myself, and you accept it happily… You definitely label me galia.

—It can be reversed, you are galia, but I am happy.

—Not angry.

—I don't feel that I have lost out.

—If someone does this, we don't get angry, maybe a little angry, but that's the negative sense."

I ask if cerdik is negative or positive.

"—There's an element of bad cerdik.

—Cerdik means a person is smart.

—But smart [pintar] in Minangkabau is in two parts, there's a cerdik for doing good… and there's a cerdik that's called bad cerdik.

—So, between galia and cerdik, galia is the 'superlatif,' the high level.

—Like in diplomacy.

—So galia doesn't do too much damage to a person, there's more for us but it doesn't ruin the other."

I ask if they mean in an economic sense?

"Can be, in lots of aspects, it can be economic, it can be political."

I ask about each of the first four presidents of Indonesia. Is President Gus Dur galia?

"From the standpoint of Minangkabau he's not galia, he lacks strategy."

What about President Megawati?

"That's possible, she's galia."

President Suharto?

"He's cerdik.

—Galia also.

—But it is well known that he has the bad sort of cerdik.

—His cerdik isn't the good cerdik but the bad cerdik."

President Sukarno?

"Could be cerdik, could also be galia.

—It's the same with Megawati.

—So galia profits the one who is galia, but doesn't hurt society too much, so it isn't too much of a burden."

I then asked about Navis' couplet:

"The logic of it is like this: the one who is in a jam is always at the bottom and there's someone throwing things down at him from above, that's called being in a tight spot, like here, my left hand is trapped by my right hand. But if a Minangkabau is trapped he wants to get out, that's the logic.

—But it's a figure of speech.

—Trapped at the bottom, but in the expression 'trapped, wants to be on top; locked up, wants to be out,' that's about being smart, although talking about being locked up, it's how he can get free, he works to get free, how he gets free through his wit, he tries every way to get free.

—He's not desperate…there are 1,001 ways to get free…for example, a person does wrong and is arrested by the police, there are many ways he tries to get free, he persists day and night, that's galia."

And then we get back to politics.

"So, Gus Dur isn't galia.

—No, we don't think that he is galia. But he is smart [pintar].

—Yes, smart.

—The one who is galia is Amin Rais, head of parliament, he's galia.

—But Gus Dur isn't galia.

—Gus Dur hasn't any strategy.

—But the teacher of Amin Rais was a Minang!

—Syafe'I Ma'arif, a Minang, so Amin Rais is galia.

—That's politics. Certainly Minangkabau are galia, but Javanese are just schoolboys."

I ask, surprised, Javanese aren't galia?

"No, Javanese are too honest [jujur]."

I say, even more surprised, too jujur? Wah!

"Sometimes they are too jujur.

—What he means is too 'to the point' [in English], whereas there are lots of obstacles.

—Minangkabau don't like it, they go round about.

—Minangkabau have six senses.

—Here's a story:" (and he proceeds to relate the most famous Minangkabau tale, the one about the water buffalo fight.) *"They say that once the Javanese came here, in the time of the Majapahit Kingdom, and challenged us to a cockfight.*

—A water buffalo fight.

—Yes, a water buffalo fight. A huge water buffalo was brought over from Java, but then the water buffaloes here weren't as large, and we would surely lose. Then tactics were used, we choose a young water buffalo and tied a knife to its horns. This water buffalo was still nursing, and saw the water buffalo from Java and thought that it was its mother, then it attacked because it wanted to nurse, it stabbed the stomach of the Javanese water buffalo with the knife on its head, so that was galia. But this story about galia certainly isn't true.

—It's a Minangkabau myth.

—'Victorious water buffalo,' so it's a Minangkabau myth." 18

We have already mentioned that this story of the water buffalo fight is one explanation of the name "Minangkabau," which could come from manang, victorious and kabau, water buffalo. But it is also a charter myth for this sort of intelligence celebrated by the Minangkabau. The story recalls the worldwide Trickster tales, in which a weak individual outwits and defeats a stronger one. (Think of David, Brer Rabbit, the Native American Coyote, et al.) In Java many stories are told about the Trickster Kancil, the little mouse deer. But curiously enough, I never heard a Kancil story from these

Minangkabau informants. And, of course, this Minangkabau story does not actually celebrate the cleverness of the animal but rather that of the anonymous Minangkabau who use the animal as their surrogate in defeating the Javanese invasion.

It appears from these discussions that there are two understandings of galia/galir. One is close to the meaning of the couplet, "tahimpik nak di ateh, takuruang nak di lua:m,"mentioned above (p.—). Here, galia is the clever strategy that allows a Minangkabau to escape from a difficult situation. This sense is clearly portrayed in the account of the water buffalo duel. But there is a second sense, one of business or political intelligence, where one party uses strategy to come out ahead. In the discussions it was often stressed that the winner is careful not to win overwhelmingly, but to keep good relations with the other. This sense is not at all obvious from the couplet, even though my informants repeatedly linked the couplet to galia itself.

Pak B described galia as a way of thinking (jalan pikirannya) and located it as a particular sort of akal. Akal, from the Arabic, often means reason or logic as opposed to destructive lust (nafsu). But here, as Pak B is using it, there are various sorts of akal, some positive and some negative. Galia, the good Minangkabau attribute, is panjang akal, a positive cleverness and not another sort of negative cleverness like akal hulus (cunning), or akal busuk (trickiness). And Pak B emphasized that Minangkabau could use galia to work their way out of a dilemma and quoting another saying that exemplifies this ingenious flexibility:

Tertumbuh luduk dibelokkan,	*If the boat runs aground, turn,*
Tertumbuh kata difikiri.	*If the speech doesn't work, think.*

Pak C was, as usual, reluctant to make ethnic generalizations. When I asked him if there was an ethnic group that was pelit, he hesitated: *"A pelit ethnic group? Yes. I'm very sorry, Pak Heider, I've never been away, I don't know much about the different ethnic groups in my country here."* Are there licik people? *"Licik? There are, but they're not concentrated, or there's not one special group. Ethnic. There are even licik Minangkabau. A few. Same with pelit. There are some Minangkabau, but just a few. But generally speaking, we speak now in general, Minangkabau aren't pelit and aren't licik. Galia is different. But we can't ignore that there are Minangkabau who are pelit and are licik. There are. It depends on the soul of a person. In other ethnic groups, I feel—yes—Batak are like that.*

Yes, probably Ambonese also. Javanese and Madurese, maybe they are like that." 19

Tenggang Rasa—To Be Considerate of Others by Controlling Oneself

Pak B described *tenggang rasa*: *"As for tenggang rasa, we have to think first before we act or speak. We must not offend, we must not say things that make enemies. That's tenggang rasa. So,*

> *In speaking, guard the tongue*
> *In walking, guard the feet.*

And there's a saying, 'you walk one step, then turn back and withdraw.' That's also it, we never just gossip away, that's tenggang rasa." 20

This second saying is given in fuller form by Moussay (1995: 483) as:

Bajalan salangkah maengong suruik,	You walk a step, then turn back and withdraw
Bakato sabuah dipikari.	You say something, then think it over.

Pak A gave another example of tenggang rasa as consideration for the feelings of others, in this case displayed by the mother's brother, an important authority figure for the nieces and nephews: *"It is very important. It is arranged—say a mamak, the brother of one's mother, if he comes home to his niece, before he goes up to the door, he talks out loud about things in the yard, like rice being dried, or, hey! Chickens, so that his niece knows that her mamak has come. That's tenggang. Don't just go to the door, but say 'salam aleikum' at the door just in case the niece isn't ready. He doesn't dress up . . . because that wouldn't be considerate . . . he coughs as he arrives, chatting in case someone is there—'eh! Uncle! The uncle has come.' She goes to her husband, they prepare everything if the house wasn't ready—then it's ready."* 21

One day I was asking Pak B about characteristics that were specific to Minangkabau: once again, are there things special to Minangkabau? *"That's difficult. As for characteristics specific to Minangkabau—that means only Minangkabau have them?"*

Or, things more important to Minangkabau. "*Hmmm. For Minangkabau, feelings important to maintain—interacting with others—not just with Minangkabau, but with other ethnic groups. It's virtually obligatory that Minangkabau are always tenggang rasa, both in deeds as well as in speech. Minangkabau are not allowed to offend other people,* [and again he quoted:]

> *'Walking, guard your feet*
> *Talking, guard your tongue'*
> *[and then he quoted another saying:]*
> *'a knife wound soon heals*
> *but a wound by the tongue won't heal.'*

...the tongue can hurt another person, and also the tongue can hurt ourselves: 'the tiger's mouth, it can gobble up our heads.' But is this a Minangkabau characteristic? I can't say, because I feel that all people have to have habits like that." 22 (The book of James, 3:5–12, says much of the same thing.)

This sort of consideration of others is essentially defensive. One should mute oneself in order not to offend. A proactive consideration has famously been described by Doi in his analysis of the Japanese pattern of amae (1973). There it is important to anticipate the other's wishes. Pak B explicitly contrasted tenggang rasa with tajam (sharpness), the ability that some people can develop to read the other's feelings. So these are two quite different strategies available for interpersonal interaction.

Semangat—Soul Matter, Vital Spark

According to Anthony Reid, one of the cultural ideas widely shared by groups across Southeast Asia is that of soul matter (1988:6). Indeed, perhaps something of this sort is found in most, if not all cultures. Is it a cultural universal? And if so, is this a significant or a trivial observation?

The most complete account of this for an Indonesian culture is Shelly Errington's paper on sumange in the Bugis-Makassar area of South Sulawesi (1983). Errington is careful to emphasize that her account is based on data from the area of the former polity of Luwu and probably has only general relevance to comparable forms elsewhere in the region. But, respecting this caution, it is worthwhile noting the main features of Luwu sumange before exploring the Minangkabau understanding of its cognate ideas.

According to Errington, sumange is "the idea that an impersonal and creative energy supports and animates the universe, and can be tapped by individuals in order to increase their own potency and effectiveness." (1983:546). Specifically,

> —sumange is an energy diffused throughout the world in an uneven manner;
>
> —human bodies, houses, other objects, and even polities have concentrations of sumange;
>
> —this sumange is concentrated at the center (pusat) of the body, house, or polity;
>
> —in humans, sumange is concentrated in the navel area;
>
> —securing a person's sumange to the navel is a major goal of health practices;
>
> —sumange may be dislodged from a person because of weakness, especially in very young, very old, or the sick;
>
> —sumange may be dislodged by aseddingen, a shock of some sort;
>
> —people are particularly vulnerable when they are away from their pusat (pallawangeng);
>
> —the best protection is a developed sense of awareness (paringer-reng, cognate to Indonesian ingat);
>
> —a person who has suffered shock, whose sumange is in danger, is attended by others (maroja) and they try to recall, or coax, the sumange to return (pakurrusumang);
>
> —places can be makarre (cognate to keramat), charged with potency;
>
> —objects, like the Indonesian dagger (kris), are especially charged with sumange and are worn at the waist (the person's pusat) to increase and protect the person's sumange;
>
> —harm comes from lack of potency—sumange—that allows the boundaries to be breached by penetration of objects, words, or strangers from outside;
>
> —the metaphor of fullness (vs. emptiness) is used for the health and strength that results from plenty of sumange.

Moving from Sulawesi back to Sumatra, we see that the Minangkabau use close cognates of sumange: the Indonesian semangat or, in Minangkabau, sumangek, sumangat, or sumangaik. For Minangkabau, semangat has many shades of meaning. For example:

1. A driving ambition (kegigihan) or desire (nafsu, kemauan) as when an anthropologist wants to learn Minangkabau. If people do not have it, they just sit around with their hands in their laps. Pak B said that if you were inspired to do better work by someone else's example, that was "dorongan semangat," motivating semangat. The second women's focus group said that

"semangat is spiritual, 'from the bottom of our heart,'" [in English].
—Yes, if someone wants to succeed, they have to have semangat."
In economic affairs?
"Can be economic."
Men can?
"They can."
And woman also have semangat?
—*"But semangat is a push from behind, it is 'support'* [in English] *for a youth, for example, the parent says, 'If you get an eight on your report, I'll give you a present.' That gives the child semangat."* 25

2. Patriotic inspiration, as was felt by Indonesians during their struggle for independence. This occurs in songs and cinema dealing with the struggle.
3. A joyous spirit (rasa gembira) as in the saying, "He wants to hug the mountain."

In addition to these three particular meanings, semangat as a positive spirit is located variously. People have semangat, but also villages may have it. There were differences of opinions on semangat in objects. But some of my informants resisted the idea that objects could have semangat—that would be just superstition, incompatible with Islam. I asked Pak B if an object like a kris has semangat. (Krises are elegant, often very valuable ceremonial knives used throughout Indonesia as well as much of the rest of the Malay world, and in Java and Sulawesi, at least, they are thought to have spiritual power, or semangat.) Pak B rejected the idea for Minangkabau: *"Oh, probably you mean supernatural power… Some people believe that a kris brings good luck. That it's powerful. There's a magical power. There are people who believe that."* Here, I ask? *"Oh, in Minangkabau, in West Sumatra, there are people who have such beliefs. But that is superstition. In Islam it's not allowed. Because in Islam the greatest power is God. Krises are just around."* 26

Minangkabau are aware that in Banten, on Java, objects have kekuatan (magical power). There people can drink water in which a kris has been boiled. There are even said to be such practices in other parts of the Minangkabau region like Payakumbuh and Palembayan. One men's group said that a kris as well as ring stones (batu cincin) can increase a person's semangat.

The first women's focus group developed the argument that women have more semangat than men: *"We women also have semangat, how about President Megawati?* [then newly become president of Indonesia]…

—here are differences

—in the past people said that semangat is the same as modernization, in the past only men could fight but now things have changed, today women are more progressive than men, they are given opportunities, especially in Minangkabau women can get advanced education; in the past there was a saying, 'For us women the kitchen was sufficient, but not now.'

—The kitchen is enough, being a good cook is enough.

—but now we have advanced, we can go to higher levels of schooling, so the emotion of semangat comparing men and women, has also advanced.

—Sometimes men have less semangat than women. Women have to hide their emotions, be tough, be tougher and more stoic than men, so their semangat is higher than men." 27

The first men's focus group disagreed somewhat:

"Generally there is little difference. Minangkabau men have more semangat, but it's possible for women to have semangat. Sometimes women's semangat appears for some reason, a semangat very exceptional. For example, a religious feeling arises, she can become a military commander, sometimes because of need she takes command and semangat arises. Men's semangat comes from daily challenges. In the past men needed to be shocked into courage.

—Because they are heads of families, they will become heads of families, then men's semangat is raised higher." 28

The second men's focus group said,

"As for semangat it's the same for men and women in Minangkabau, only there are limits.

—the women's movements are not as free as men's because of the customs here."

According to Minangkabau, what is semangat?

> *"—It's motivating 'aspirasi' [aspiration], the desired ideals. Semangat is the same as nafsu."* 29

Pak A said that men and women had different sorts of semangat: *"It's clear, men's semangat mainly is directed toward defending and struggling for something. Women's semangat is mainly toward owning things, beautiful things, pretty things. They want to own. Men want to fight…Here, politics is run by men, economics is handled by women."* 30

Generally there are some differences between men and women. Women's semangat is more limited; women have to hide that semangat, while men can show it; men's semangat is for strength, while

women's is for beauty. Semangat is closely related to another emotion, bangga (a good sort of pride): if we succeed in something because of high semangat, we feel bangga.

Minangkabau use metaphors of fire and heat when describing semangat, such as gejolak (flaming up), or "sangat bersemangat—semangat membara" (burns), berkobar (flares up). Although this is reminiscent of the metaphor of anger as a hot liquid in a container, found in so many cultures (see pp. 102–9 and Lakoff and Kovecses 1987), there seems to be no sense of the embodiment images—Lakoff and Kovesces find the human body as the container, Errington had focussed her analysis of sumange (1983) in Sulawesi on "embodiment." These Minangkabau do not elaborate on the embodiment of semangat. Although it is obviously related to an embodied human, there seem to be no specific references to the body sense of semangat.

Although everyone should have it, semangat can vanish on account of failure to achieve (kecewa), loss of hope (putus asa), or desertion by a husband (ditinggalkan suami). Conversely, the permanence of semangat was described with a couplet that is more often used to describe Minangkabau adat (custom):

> Tidak hancur karena hujan
> Tidak lekang karena panas
> It does not mold because of rain,
> It does not crack because of heat.

A dukun (traditional healer) can use spells to arouse (membangkit) semangat in a weak person; leaders can inspire people (membangkitkan semangat masyarakat) to go to war, even to die, with speeches. And there is a special obat (potion) made from rumput (herbs) that can increase semangat.

Semangat, as well as these other concepts from Minangkabau folk psychology, often found their way into our discussions of emotions. But it was only after many months that I stumbled on a comprehensive system of thought that attributed different psychological patterns to different geographical features of the heartland.

Geographical Determinants of Microregional Personality

The Minangkabau heartland in West Sumatra is considered to be three districts (luhak) around the mildly active volcano Merapi.

These luhak are broad fertile basins lying about 1,000 meters in altitude. The natural features of each luhak are characterized in well-known phrases (Navis 1984:48), and further, Navis notes (1984:48n.15) that M. Rasyid Manggis has explained these features in terms of personality attributes of the people living in each luhak:

Agam (around Bukittinggi):

> buminya hangat airnya keruh, dan ikannya liar
> Its earth is warm, its water is muddy, and its fish are wild
> Keras hati berani dan suka berkelahi
> Stubborn brave and likes to fight

Lima Puluh Kota (around Payahkumbuh):

> Buminya sejuk airnya jernih dan ikannya jinak
> Its earth is cool it's water is clear and its fish are tame
> Berhati lembuk tenang suka damai
> Meek quiet and peaceloving

Tanah Datar (around Batu Sangkar):

> Buminya nyaman airnya tawar dan ikannya banyak
> Its earth is pleasant its water is sweet and its fish are plenty
> Peramah sabar dan suka damai
> Friendly patient and peaceloving

In previous years, I had had little success in eliciting any distinguishing characteristics for different luhak of Minangkabau, or for different ethnic groups in Indonesia. But when I tried out these specific paradigms on the focus groups, they would join in with the earth-water-fish lines, chuckling with satisfaction. Clearly this was familiar territory. Everyone—the three solo men as well as the four focus groups—agreed on the basics of this scheme and added specifics. Each luhak has its own color: red for Agam, yellow for Tanah Datar, and blue or green for Lima Puluh Kota (here there was disagreement.) And some linked a specific animal with a luhak: the tiger with Agam, and Pak A added a wild goat (kambiang utan:m) for Lima Puluh Kota and a Siamese cat for Tanah Datar.

Of course, all the informants are from Agam, and one gets a touch of local ethnocentrism, or chauvinism in their descriptions of the three luhak. I am confident that people from the other two luhaks would have somewhat different schemas, favoring their own homes. Pak A elaborated the tiger's traits that are shared by Agam people:

"He looks out of the corner of his eyes as he walks along the side of the path—that means he is very careful. He gets angry fast." 31

Pak C said the tiger is a symbol of Agam: *"It symbolizes braveness, it is more egoistic than the other luhak. That's the temperament of Minangkabau—the temperament of Agam people compared with Lima Puluh Kota and Tanah Datar. As for Payahkumbuh* [Lima Puluh Kota] *it's more soft, but here* [in Agam] *its more coarse."* 32

Pak B explained:

> *In Agam, the water is hangat* [others had said that it was the earth, not the water that is hangat], *and the fish are wild. That's the atmosphere in the Agam region. You might say, "Watch out!" Yes, it might be that the inhabitants of Agam, when offended, feel a bit—they like to get angry. But in the Lima Puluh Kota region, the water is clear* [again, it is usually the earth, not the water, that is said to be clear], *and the fish are tame. There they are graceful and gentle. Actually, as for the accents—for a Payahkumbuh person, from Lima Puluh Kota, their talk is often melodic—there is a melody, it's pleasant to hear. But in Agam, it's gruff. Tanah Datar is also soft. The sound is pleasant. A characteristic of Agam people in social interactions, they are a bit improper, they fight . . . For sure, they like peace, but they are quick to anger.* 33

And Pak B went on to characterize Agam people as "cepat emosi," quick to anger, and said: *"In Agam, if they are burning inside, it shows on their face. The face gets red, the eyes are flaming—it's very clear, they speak angrily. When they are angry, we know, it's clear, but if they talk to an opponent, they can control themselves, the anger is benign."* 34

At our next meeting, Pak B returned to this subject and advanced a new—and unique—interpretation. He said that he had been thinking it over, and realized that the business with the fish in the water is all a metaphor for social interaction. The wild fish in muddy water (Agam) and the tame fish in clear water (Lima Puluh Kota) and the multitude of fish in fresh water (Tanah Datar) are metaphors for courting: Where fish are tame or plentiful and the water is clear, it is easy for boys to catch them (girls/fish). *"Youths can certainly approach girls. Only, they can't go beyond the limits. There are always limits . . . norms that can't be overstepped. In Agam, youth have to be very careful in approaching girls—"approach slowly, don't be hasty."* 35

This is a fascinating interpretation, going beyond regional character and linking the figurative language to sexual morality, saying

that the young women in Agam are well protected, unlike those more available ones in the other districts. But since no one else proposed this reading, I do not know how to evaluate Pak B's creative exegesis.

The focus groups agreed with the solo men but went a step further, trying to explain why the different luhak are the way they are. The first women's focus group said:

we see the geographical conditions

—we see Agam people

—the area is mountainous. Such mountain people have to be strong to deal with high, constricted areas, consequently they are wild. For the land to be brought under control, they have to be tough. For example, Lima Puluh Kota people

—there the land is level, the people are easygoing, and for sure they don't leave the area because the harvests are sufficient. But Agam people are boxed in, and so they have to work hard: down into the gorge, up the mountainside, one must be strong

—and skillful. 36

And they said: *alam yang melatih jiwa—the landscape shapes the spirit. This echoes the famous saying, alam terkembang jadi guru, the unfolding nature becomes the teacher, but it may be just a happy phrasing.*

The first men's focus group agreed :

"In the Agam region here, it's always hill, valley, hill, valley, and people have to work hard…so truly the personality of Agam people is hard (keras)."

And this men's group went a step further, tieing accent to environment:

"People in Lima Puluh Kota, the region is flat and people talk slowly and softly, their words are not harsh because the region is flat and fertile, there's no problem living…but in Agam it's hills and valleys, so when they speak they have to shout…and in Agam the wind blows hard, so the speech is loud." 37

The second women's group said that

"even the food is different. The Agam people eat rendang, hot spicy. Chili. They like it hot. But Lima Puluh Kota people like mushy galami."

I ask, in Lima Puluh Kota don't they eat rendang?

"Sure, but it's sweet. They have to eat slowly because they can't handle it. Here we eat fast because we're hungry. And they have fish cakes like our chips, but ours are sanjai, very hard. And in Batu

Sangkar it's lamang. Do you know lamang? Rice, cooked in a bamboo tube with coconut milk, they like to mix it together. It's soft." 38

In short, there is a keen sense of cultural differences among the three luhak, and a tendency to attribute these differences to differences between hilly and flat areas. (Although this formulation was agreed on by all four focus groups, in my own experience traveling around the Minangkabau heartland, I found both hills and plains in all three luhak.)

Gender Differences

The geographical determinism model took me by surprise, but I had expected to find a strong gender effect. In the early stages of this research, when I was reading the literature on the Minangkabau and preparing grant proposals, it seemed that gender would have a major role in emotion behavior. Traditionally, Minangkabau boys were moved out of their family homes into mosque dormitories (surau) from about the age of circumcision—eight or nine years—until marriage. In the suraus they studied the Qu'ran, learned Arabic, but presumably had minimal contact with any females, even their close relatives. This meant that for the crucial years around puberty both boys and to some extent girls were developing their patterns of emotion behavior in relative isolation from their opposite gender peers. Thus I had expected to find strong differences between men and women in this area. However, it turned out that the surau system had effectively ended with the Japanese occupation in the Second World War, and most of my subjects in the 1980s had grown up after that. I would guess that most people born after 1930 would have missed the surau segregation, and that included my second-stage informants, who were born in the 1930s and 1940s. (Pak A, an exception to this generalization, said that he had lived in a surau from age 7 to 12 or 13, and then he went abroad with his father.) In the questionnaire responses of the first-stage research in the 1980s, I could tease out only a few relatively minor gender differences. However, during the interviews of this second stage I constantly raised the gender issue and did get much information.

It is clear that when asked, people expressed firm ideas of gender differences in emotion behavior and other psychological features. Throughout this book I report what people say. What is not evident in the transcripts is the almost guilty pleasure with which both men's and women's focus groups told me about their gender schemas. For

these are cultural ideas—one is tempted to call them stereotypes—about differences between men and women.

As we shall see throughout this book, on the one hand people seem quite ready to generalize about gender differences when I raised the issue. On the other hand it is hard to discern a consistent model of gender in their responses. To review and anticipate some of what emerges: when we discussed semangat, soul matter, a women's focus group said that today women have more semangat than men, but the men's groups disagreed or were equivocal. When discussing malu, "shame," as the inner restraints on behavior, both men and women agreed that the nine to one formula was accurate, that women have many more constraints on their behavior than do men.

Both men and women agreed that when angry, women talk or weep—"crying is the woman's weapon." Men, on the other hand, get violent, strike out at things or people, but their anger subsides more quickly. Both women's groups said that when surprised, women react with emotion, but men use reason to analyze the situation. When talking about rindu, "nostalgia," there were major disagreements. One women's focus group denied gender differences, but the other group said that women hide their nostalgia while men express it. One men's group agreed, saying that men discuss their longing, but the other men's group first said that there were no gender differences, but then they claimed that women's greater fear of shame restricted their expression of nostalgia. People took the same line with nafsu, desire: both men and women have it, but the restrictions of shame made women control their nafsu more. But with jealousy, one women's group said that women flare up more easily while men conceal it more.

There was general agreement that there are gender differences in the ways that sombong, "arrogance, pride" is shown: sombong women wear gold jewelry and expensive clothes, but sombong men express their sombong through sneering, strutting, and other nonverbal postures.

One informant generalized, saying that women were more emotional than men. However, most were reluctant to make such broad generalizations. However, in discussions of how children are trained in intelligence, especially in emotional intelligence, it seemed that the teacher or mentor was always a male, a father or mother's brother. In retrospect, I feel that the women's focus groups were made up of quite strong, self-confident women who clearly considered themselves at least the equals of men, especially in intelligence, but I cannot support this with explicit statements in the interview transcripts.

Two other obvious patterns that promised rich data on emotion and folk psychology were the syndromes known as latah and amok. However, my Minangkabau informants actually had little to say about either syndrome, but I should at least mention them.

Latah and Gender

An obvious site to look for gender differences would seem to be latah. Latah is the well-known Malay/Indonesian example of a culturally elaborated hyper-startle syndrome. It also serves as a prime example of the biocultural model, the cultural shaping of a biological trait. It appears that in many, or perhaps all, human populations a few individuals are naturally—biologically—hyper startlers. That is, they have extreme reactions to sudden loud noises, strong contact, and the like. But only a few cultures elaborate and encourage this hyper-startle syndrome by naming it, and vesting it with expected behaviors. These usually include exaggerated surprise, shouting vulgar or obscene words, following others' commands, and imitating others' behavior. And especially relevant here is that most latahs are women, and in the Malay world this is explained as the result of women's weaker semangat, or soul matter.

I had inquired about latah because it seemed to be a venue where gender differences would surely be discussed and because, to my puzzlement, I had heard nothing about latah during my two years in West Sumatra during the 1980s. Since there is extensive literature on latah in Southeast Asia in general (Winzeler 1995), in Malaysia (e.g., Simons and Hughes 1985, Simons 1996) and Java (e.g., H. Geertz 1968), I had expected to find latahs in West Sumatra.

When I asked about latah, the first women's focus group said that when they were young there were many latahs, but that today latah is rare. In their descriptions of latah they mainly quoted magazine articles about it. (There are many pop-psychology magazines and pamphlets for sale in the area. Often they were translated from English language sources although some, like the articles on latah, must have originated locally.)

The first men's focus group said,

"Latah is a sort of attribute.

—A sort of sickness…

—saying dirty words is part of latah. When we are alone with someone, saying dirty words is usual, but if we are in a group, saying dirty words is latah."

I ask if there is a difference between men and women?

"— It's a problem of attributes, it's a sickness.

— The complex of latah is the same.

— It's the same, there are male latah, there are female latah."

I try again: Are there more men, or more women?

"—The majority of those who become latah are women, but there are also men…

—I think that according to biologists it's inherited…

—Here if there's a connection to culture, most Minangkabau, if they are looking for a spouse for their child, they investigate the ancestry of the person who might marry their child. 'Who's the family?' 'Who's the father?'

—And then there's the genetic factor, what are the defects, the defects of the grandparents, including latah…Latah enters into the calculations because the trait of latah can be passed down to the child—If the father is latah, the child may also be latah." 39

Since Minangkabau is a matrilineal culture, where important possessions pass through the female lines, it is a bit surprising to find these men claiming a patrilineal biology. Apparently they are now thinking in Moslem terms, where the male line is predominant.

The second men's group agreed that latah is very rare and that women were more often latah, but then they offered a curious explanation:

"Women have much higher subjectivity [subjektivitas]. *They sometimes judge people emotionally, sometimes in a flash of self-dissatisfaction, maybe they own less than others…For example, someone has more than they do, they feel that they want the other person to have less, as they themselves do…I feel that it is mainly women who have latah because they judge emotionally.*

—It's different with men, if Minangkabau men have that sort of trait, they don't live long."

This women's attribute of "subjectivity" never came up again in any of our conversations, nor did this judging of others seem significant. Yet the whole group seemed to concur. Perhaps it is another contribution of Western pop psychology? Then shortly afterwards they added,

"Usually the people who have the trait of latah are people with less education, less knowledge.

—Less empathy. Because of that the latah person has a problem about her rights, she feels inferior to others and wants to diminish the others." 40

Simons had studied latah in just those areas of Malaysia closest culturally to West Sumatra, and he said that latah were common there.

Simons' informants gave him two reasons why women were more often latahs than were men: first, "Women's semangat is a bit weaker than men's. Men have rather stronger semangat." (1996:164). And second, they said that people think that women are less likely to retaliate than men if poked to induce a latah incident.

It is not at all clear why latah is so rare in West Sumatra. Certainly people had clear schemas of latah. It was very much alive in their folk psychology, although some knowledge comes from the pop-psychology media. There is some feeling that women are more likely to be latah than men, but no one resorted to traditional concepts like semangat to account for gender differences. Instead they fall back on the Minangkabau standards of education and religion.

Amok

The most famous psychological concept from the entire Malay world is the homicidal fit whose name, amok, has been naturalized into English. It was described from the eighteenth century on by European colonials in Southeast Asia and India. In the prototypical form, a male villager suddenly goes wild wielding a bush knife, killing people without any apparent warning or reason until he himself is killed (Winzeler 1990a,b). This terrifying loss of control seems particularly out of place in Malay cultures, which generally emphasize control and order. But although all my informants seemed quite familiar with amok, no one claimed any firsthand knowledge of it. It is hard to believe that amok does not occur among Minangkabau, but it would seem that amok, like latah, has not a strong behavioral presence in Minangkabau today, or in Minangkabau ideas of folk psychology.

Chapter 4
Minangkabau Emotion Theory

Inputs from Elsewhere

The Minangkabau are an unusually cosmopolitan, eclectic people with a particularly syncretic culture. In part this is the result of the high value that they place on merantau, the temporary out-migration of young men and, increasingly, whole families in search of experience, knowledge, and wealth beyond their homeland. And in part this is the result of the intrusion of other cultures into the animistic heartland over a period of more than a millennium. Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam came in as religions but were accompanied by the Indian cultures that brought them. English and especially Dutch colonials did not proselytize, and they did little to expose the Minangkabau to their cultures. Now movies and the television media, most powerfully satellite broadcasts bringing films and sitcoms from the United States and elsewhere, have reached Minangkabau throughout the heartland.

To look at the emotions and folk psychology with an eye to disentangling these various constituent cultural strands is in one sense to attempt a somewhat outdated diffusionist analysis. Yet by looking at the different borrowings we can uncover some of the dynamics of the changing Minangkabau system. In the process of nailing down just what Minangkabau emotions are all about it is easy to overlook the changing of the system. We need to describe both the target and its movement. This means both the changes in Minangkabau in general and the changes of individual Minangkabau's ideas in specific.

From the European Schemas

The word emosi seems to be widely used in Indonesia, but with somewhat different denotations. In the 1980s, Minangkabau used emosi as an "anger" word, but I noted that in some Indonesian movies it had the broader meaning of "emotion." (1991a:257). Meanwhile,

in Java, the Gadjah Mada University psychologist Dr. Johana Prawitasari (1998) was using emosi for the category emotion, where I use perasaan. In any case, my Minangkabau informants in the early twenty-first century still restricted emosi to "anger."

A few other European loan words seem to have been domesticated in Indonesian. Examples are temperamen, which is close to temperament, and sinis, which is used for a kind of smile, (and the *senyum* sinis is in fact a cynical smile). Another more salient example is the problem of romantic love. I would expand William Jankowiak's argument about romantic love to Indonesia and West Sumatra. Writing about China, Jankowiak refutes the old wisdom that romantic love was somehow limited to Europe and unknown in Asia, the locus classicus of arranged marriage (1995). In fact, as in China, the Minangkabau traditional literature is full of stories of romantic love, wise and unwise. Also, modern Indonesian novels and films, many written by Minangkabau, deal with romantic love as it comes into conflict with arranged marriages. But it may be that the Minangkabau enthusiasm for indirect speech, which we come across frequently in this book, has until recently inhibited explicit talk about romantic love. Now, under the influence of (especially) American media, this inhibition is weakening. But there is still the problem of finding a vocabulary to speak directly of it. There are several solutions available to Minangkabau speakers, several ways to make talk about romantic love more direct. First, words like *cinta*, which have in the past meant a more nurturant caring, are shifting their meanings. Second, the Sanskrit word *asmara* is becoming more common and is used for romantic love. And third, the English word love is being used, at least in Javanese Indonesian (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982:64). However, this is all impressionistic, based on my talks with middle-aged Minangkabau, who were not quick to discuss this matter with me. I have little doubt that young Minangkabau would have much to say on the topic of love.

From the Arabic Muslim Schemas

Although Minangkabau are virtually without exception Muslim, and my informants were all strong Muslims, they have not necessarily adopted the entire set of Arabic Muslim cultural schemas. We shall see in chapter 4 how they have grappled with such schemas as that of malu, "shame," (which is not an Arabic word) and of nafsu, "desire," (which is an Arabic word.)

Rasa Theory: First Millennium Hindu Poetics in Minangkabau

One of the most tantalizing problems has to do with the contribution of Indian culture to Minangkabau emotion and folk psychology. The key is Rasa Theory, a poetics, an aesthetics of emotion in theater, developed by Indian philosophers during the first millennium of the Common Era (C.E.). Long known to Sanskrit scholars, it has recently been discovered by Western performance theorists, psychologists, and anthropologists, who have been fascinated by both its similarities to and its differences from emotion theories current in Euro-American scholarship.

Rasa Theory has been used in many different ways. For Paul Stanger, rasa "is among other things the cognitive faculty which, as Javanese mystics understand it, we use to know the intuitive aspects of reality" (1984:114). Judith Becker examined Javanese gamelan aesthetics through Rasa Theory (1997). Richard Schechner has written about "Rasaaesthetics" (1988, 2001), and he inspired Michele Minnick and Paula Murray Cole to develop an actors' movement training program utilizing "Rasaboxes" (2002). Marc Benamou wrote about Rasa in Javanese Musical Aesthetics (1998; Susan Schwartz has written about rasa in Indian drama, dance, and music (2004); Arjun Appadurai used rasa to analyze Bengali beggars (1990), and Donald Brenneis, although he does not use the word rasa, invokes its principles in analyzing aesthetics among Hindi-speaking Fiji Indians (1990).

Rasa also poses a puzzle for the understanding of Indonesian emotions. During the same period that Rasa Theory was emerging in India, the influence of Hinduism and Indian culture in general was being felt in Sumatra, Bali, and especially Java. In West Sumatra, the Hindu kingdom of Minangkabau (or at least the royal court) lasted for some centuries until it was overthrown by Islamic militants in the early nineteenth century. Religion, architecture, music, theater, textile arts, and languages in the archipelago absorbed Indian characteristics that persist today despite subsequent centuries of Islamic and European influences. Presumably, all this was the result of strong and continued contact between South Asia and the Indonesian archipelago. But here we need to ask if Hindu poetics had any lasting effect on Minangkabau culture.

Two and perhaps three Sanskrit words of Rasa Theory are used in Indonesian languages today. The most obvious is "rasa" itself, the common root for Indonesian and for Minangkabau (as "raso") terms for emotion in general. Second, the Sanskrit word for the

basic emotion of fear or terror is "bhaya," close to the Indonesian *bahaya* and the Minangkabau bahayo, "danger." Third, "karuna," the Sanskrit for the rasa "compassionate, pathetic" is close to the Minangkabau and Indonesian *karunia*, "gift, grace." And, beyond Sumatra itself, the evoked emotion of love is "srngara," which has a similar meaning in Bali. This raises the question: with all this Indian influence in the archipelago in regard to culture and especially vocabulary dealing with emotion, is there any evidence that any elements of Rasa Theory itself exist in contemporary Minangkabau? Previously, I had rejected this possibility out of hand (1991a), but now it seems to me worthwhile to reopen the question, first by laying out the principles of Rasa Theory. I would still guess that we shall not find an elaborated, full Rasa Theory in Minangkabau. But there is a hint of it in people's schemas for *tersentuh*, "touched" (see below, pp. 93–5). It seems to me more likely that a high-court tradition of theater, as existed in Central Java or Bali, where there were—and still are—people writing about theater and poetics, especially the wayang genres, would be the most likely place to find Rasa Theory in Indonesia.

The locus classicus of Rasa Theory is the sixth chapter of the Natya Sastra, a treatise on poetics attributed to "Bharata" in an early century of the Christian Era, possibly about the time of Kalidasa, the greatest playwright of classic Sanskrit, who flourished about the fifth-century C.E. (Masson and Patwardhan 1970). There were two great early commentaries on the *Natya Sastra*. One was the *Dhvanya Loka* by Ananda Vardhana in the ninth-century C.E., the other was the tenth-century *Locana* by Abhinava Gupta (Ingalls, Masson, and Patwardhan 1990). Sanskrit scholars have discussed Rasa Theory at length (e.g., Keith 1924, Gerow 1977, Miller 1977, 1984, and Chari 1990). Rasa Theory has also attracted attention from Richard Schechner, the performance theorist (1988:266–272), the anthropologist Richard A. Shweder (1993, 1999ms), and the psychologists Hejmadi, Davidson, and Rozin (2000) as well as Keith Oatley (2002).

For the purposes of this study, I take as central to Rasa Theory the idea that performers in a play act out emotions of real life in order to evoke an aesthetic appreciation, or rasa, in the audience. Thus, a distinction is made between the emotions themselves and those rasas, or emotional experiences, that are aroused in the audience while watching the performance. According to chapter 6 of the *Natya Sastra* there are eight rasa, and these are evoked by the *bhava*, which are the lived emotions. The bhava include eight *sthayi*,

permanent or primary emotions, each corresponding to a particular rasa. The sthayi do not occur alone, but rather in combination with transitory states (of which there are 32), and involuntary states (of which there are 8). (Masson and Patwardhan 1970.1:45).

Rasa Theory proposes something very much like antecedents and outcomes of emotions (Heider 1991a), but with a different set for the bhava (karana and karya) and for the rasa (vibhaya and anubhava).

The predominant metaphor of Rasa Theory is gourmet food. Rasa itself can mean taste, and the poetics explicitly uses the idea of blending tastes to produce an enjoyable result. The following is from the *Natya Sastra* (Masson and Patwardhan, vol. 1, 1970:70):

> We will first of all explain what are rasas. For without rasa no topic (of drama) can appeal (to the mind of the spectator)... Rasa comes from a combination of the vibhavas, the anubhavas, and the vybhicaribhavas... What is a (good) analogy? Here is one: Just as flavour (rasa) comes from a combination of many spices, herbs and other substances (dravya), so rasa (in a drama) comes from the combination (upagama) of many bhavas. For example, in the same way that beverages such as sadava (a combination of the six flavours) are created... from substances such as molasses, spices... and herbs..., the permanent emotions attain the status of rasa when they are accompanied (upagata) by the various bhavas. At this point someone (might) ask: What is it you call rasa? The answer is: (It is called rasa) because it can be savored... How is rasa savored? As gourmets... are able to savor the flavour of food prepared with many spices, and attain pleasure etc., so sensitive spectators... savor the primary emotions suggested... by the acting out of the various bhavas and presented with the appropriate modulation of the voice, movements of the body and display of involuntary reactions, and attain pleasure etc. Therefore they are called... natyarasas (dramatic flavours).

For lists of the Sanskrit words specified in Rasa Theory, see the works cited above. Even if few of these words seem to be preserved in Indonesian languages, the principle of sequential links between emotion words does. We shall pick up this argument again in the final chapter. Most unexpectedly, a Minangkabau version of Rasa Theory emerged in the course of our discussions of the word tersentuh. At first, people talked about two senses of tersentuh:

One, the physical sense of being touched, and the second sense, one of empathy. In fact, the English "touched," with both its physical and emotional senses, seems like an unusually accurate translation equivalent.

Tersentuh is to be touched by something sad: for example, a poor person, or a student in academic trouble, or hearing Minangkabau flute music (saluang) when far from home, or even to be affected by a broken vase. The first women's focus group linked this to women's nature:

"As for women, it's the nature of women to incline to sadness, often only with tears, a bit something touching, sad, unpleasant, only reacted to with tears in order to quickly calm down.

—This calming down depends on the person, for women are apt to cry, but men rarely do…" And later: *"tears are women's weapons."* 109

The second women's focus group described a tersentuh situation in terms very like the prototypical rindu, "nostalgia" situation, complete with evocative flute music.

"Tersentuh, the heart hears the flute.

—And there are sad words, a sad song makes the heart tersentuh. Sometimes we weep when we hear it, that's tersentuh hati.

—It's especially someone abroad who hears the flute.

—He wants to come home but there's no money. His desire when hearing the flute, that's very tersentuh, like the words of his mother, he may weep, that's a really sad heart, that's tersentuh, wanting to come home but unable to because of really serious conditions." 110

But the most suggestive aspect of tersentuh is a kind of empathy for sad events in television dramas, a third millennium C.E. version of the first millennium C.E. Hindu poetics called Rasa Theory.

The first men's group surprised me with this when I asked about tersentuh:

"*That's the same. Tersentuh is usually about the 'body'* [in English], *the body. It's called tersentuh because it's not intentional…People's emotions can also be tersentuh."*

How, I ask?

"*I watch senetron* [a genre of melodramatic television series], *and it happens that there are sad scenes. I get somewhat melancholy* [melonkolis] *watching those scenes, my heart is tersentuh, I begin to cry, it is experienced, I follow in crying, my heart is tersentuh. Because I watched it, my heart follows the crying, although it's not that I am the one experiencing it, but because my melancholy type can feel it. Can cry. Especially when what is shown on TV is a broken-off affair and we view the lover being rejected. That's consistent with the nature of tersentuh."*

I ask, we ourselves are not involved?

"Yes, not involved, but because of the emotion that is involved."

I ask if this happens with happy people on TV?

"Rarely does tersentuh accompany happiness. Tersentuh is usually sad." 111

In the next interview I asked the women's group about watching television, and they said,

"There is, for example, a story about a stepmother who beats the children. We feel tersentuh, want to help out, or pity the children."

I ask if happy comedies bring tersentuh?

"No, not happiness." 112

And then I asked the second men's group about this, and they said:

"For example, an Indian film is sad [sedih], *we feel sad* [lintuah] *and weep."*

I ask, why do you weep, it's not real, it's only a film?

"For example, there was a Minang story on TV, misery and luxury, 'Siti Nurbaya.' That story has sadness [sedih]

—there can be tersentuh, can be sadness [lintuah], *depending on the person. Because it's someone else and not true? But look at a person. If a person watches and is logical, certainly there is no tersentuh, no sadness, because he knows it's only a story. But there are people who are emotional, as if it was really a true event, and they become immediately sad* [lintuah], *they cry."*

And if it's a comedy?

"It's not tersentuh."

If it's not tersentuh, what do they feel?

"Happy, joyful, glad."

If the film is happy?

"But if it's sad, has suffering, suffering of a person in our tersentuh hearts, we see the words. It's tersentuh, and then sadness." 113

How far can we take this as evidence of another trace of Sanskrit Rasa Theory in Minangkabau? Certainly, these three focus groups agreed closely on the details. It would be ironic to find a 1,500-year-old Indian poetics applied to contemporary television melodramas. A curious fact is that they often used one word, sedih, for the sadness expressed by the actors and another, lintuah, for the emotion of the viewer. This is just the pattern of Rasa Theory, where one emotion evokes another. And it is interesting that my informants brought it out in connection with an Indian film. In any case, sedih is the most common, prototypical word for the sadness cluster in Indonesian, while lintuah is a rare Minangkabau word.

In short, these distinctively Minangkabau ideas about emotion and folk psychology are in fact cosmopolitan, on a Malay World base with many contributions from other cultures. And, like culture generally, they are in constant flux. It is safe to predict that with increasing electronic input from other Asian countries, as well as Europe and North America, change will accelerate and this book, presenting a snapshot of early twenty-first-century Minangkabau, will be seriously out-of-date in 50 years.

Minangkabau Talk about Emotion

Regulating Emotion

In the previous chapter we considered how Minangkabau think about emotions in the broader context of folk psychology. Now we can turn to Minangkabau thought about ways to regulate emotion, for it can dangerously threaten interpersonal relations.

"Knowing the Four": Regulating Emotion with Level of Speech

We have already discussed the salient Minangkabau pattern number of four. Many lists of four are found throughout Minangkabau-folk wisdom. A book by Drg. Abraham Ilyas titled "The Four" (*Nan Empat: Dialektika, Logika, Sistemika, Alam Terkembang* 1999) describes dozens of such sets. But perhaps the most important, often called simply "Knowing the Four" (Tahu Nan Empat), refers to four registers, or levels of speech to be used depending on the relationship and relative status of the speakers.

The names of these four registers employ the metaphor of walking along a path or road. They are called *jalan*, "road," or *kata* "word."

- *Jalan Mendaki* (the upward path), that style of talk used toward older people, or those one respects or celebrates (menghormati, muliakanlah);
- *Jalan Menurun* (the descending path), used toward the young, those one nurtures (mengasihi). This is considered an easy, non-problematic register;
- *Jalan Mendatar* (the level path), used with people of the same age, close friends (sangat baik pergaulanya; teman), and those one is in empathy with (sayangi). This also poses no problems, for one can be open (terbuka) and not have to keep secrets;

- *Jalan Melereng* (the slanted path, as one that goes along the side of a mountain). This register is used especially between close in-laws, including spouses, particularly if they are close in age, as an ipar (or ipar bisan), brother-in-law, sister-in-law, cousin-in-law. These are likely to be people living in the same great house. Living at such close quarters, their relationship is particularly problematic, potentially even dangerous (bahaya). They cannot be totally open to each other, and there is a sense that their discourse is not fully sincere (ikhlas) or pure (murni). It is clear that there is a sense of ambiguity in Minangkabau thinking about the Jalan Melereng. On the one hand it is certainly Minangkabau: "the Minangkabau studies Jalan Melereng—it's in the structure of his life" (Orang Minangkabau belajar Jalan Melereng itu—dari struktur kehidupan dia). It is part of basic manners (sopan santun). On the other hand, as we shall see, it verges on hypocrisy, a strongly forbidden act in Islamic thought.

Jalan Melereng is the language of diplomacy, both within the household and on the national and international scale. One man said with pride that Jalan Melereng was introduced to Indonesia by prominent Minangkabau statesmen of the 1940s. The first men's focus group linked the indirection with malu, an important concept that we shall deal with below:

"One link with malu is that Minangkabau don't like to speak directly, they use lots of figurative speech.

—Speaking 'to the point' [in English] *is forbidden.*

—No 'to the point.'

—must use examples.

—but have to speak with refined figurative speech. Kata melereng is used.

—There are four kinds of speech, so all four must be used.

—They are used according to the situation." 41

But yet, Jalan Melereng is not open. It is indirect. And, since Islam takes a strong stand against hypocrisy (*munafik*), this poses a delicate problem of how to celebrate the Minangkabau pattern of Jalan Melereng and at the same time distinguish it from hypocrisy. There is a saying, "di luar lain, di dalam lain"—thoughts differ from words. This acknowledges the situation without condemning it.

Nevertheless, Jalan Melereng is considered to be necessary in the socially dangerous area of close in-laws. One must be careful. Another man said that if one isn't good at Jalan Melereng, the family won't be pleased—they won't throw the person out, but they

will not think highly of him anymore. Pak B said, *"If we don't use Jalan Melereng, if it is omitted, it means that we are no longer Minangkabau. We don't know the four."* 42

In his discussion of melereng, Pak A described the restrictions on in-laws sitting together:

> *They can't sit together at a ceremony, closeness is not allowed. There are restrictions, the uncle and his nephews are not allowed to be close…And when they eat from a single large plate—it's called jamba—it's a big plate, food is served on it, they eat together…six people, five people. Eating six to a plate, five to a plate. Rice is served, side dishes, chili—it's not allowed to have an uncle and his nephew at the one plate. In-laws are not allowed. Because if they eat from the one plate, according to Minangkabau culture then the emotion of melereng will be lost…respect, the melereng talk must be cultivated constantly. Into old age. Strongly honored, strongly respected.* 43

And here he is referring to melereng actually as an emotion.

And Pak A continued, saying that joking between in-laws, if it is mild, is permitted but the "porno" joking seen on television is not. In-laws can't even watch television together because of the "porno" content.

Pak C pulled the different strands together in a complex and ingenious argument: *"raso jo pareso is developed in daily life. For example, if we are pleased with a person, we don't say so directly but in the fashion called melereng* [indirection]." (See the discussion of raso jo pareso, above, p.—) I ask, is this indirect speech?

> *Yes, indirect words* [kato melereng]. *Because Minangkabau people just aren't direct. One has to know, a young person must study how to interact with an elder. If he just speaks straight out, there will be problems. He won't be considered to be pandai. He must speak indirectly, not directly.* [Literally: walk along the slope, not straight uphill.] *But this indirection is called "raso jo pareso:m" or "ereng jo gendeng:m." Ereng with gendeng* [sloping and slanting]. *That's the other person's point of view—it has to be intuited whether he's angry, happy, sad, whatever—it has to be guessed…The youth works on it, but until he is cerdik, he isn't considered fully Minangkabau. This has to be done for him to be considered for a title, "didahulukan salangkah, ditinggikan serantiang." To be raised to the position of penghulu in Minangkabau—there is a rank of penghulu, head of a clan, called penghulu or datuk. A person who is made a datuk must "know ereng and gendeng," must "know raso jo pareso." He must*

> *know melereng* [walking along the slope] *and mandata* [walking straight uphill]. *There are four ways of walking: climbing, descending, straight, and along the slope. And he has to be reminded that he is not allowed to speak directly about his likes and dislikes, but has to go by the slanted way. That's pictured in the shape of the Minangkabau house. The Minangkabau house isn't simetris* [here: flat, level]. *The Minangkabau house—the traditional house—is called silek, it's just not straightforwardly "simetris." Just look at a Minangkabau house. It's not simetris, it* [the roof] *has to be steep and curved, forming a constant model for Minangkabau people. It is studied for the daily interaction in the extended family. In a single house there can be four families. Each has to be sensitive to fit in with the other families, and it all is supervised by the uncles. So they must be sensitive to the nuances.* 44

Pak B illustrated jalan melereng: "*Our children are skillful in using kata melereng to us. An example: a child wants to have a bicycle bought for him. If he didn't use kata melereng, he would just say, 'Pa, buy me a bike.' That's direct. It's not jalan melereng. But jalan melereng, if the child is smart, he doesn't ask directly. He massages his father first. Wherever it feels stiff, he massages. Then, while he is massaging, he says, 'Pak, it's a long way from our home to school. No wonder I am so often late, and the teacher gets angry at me. Because I'm late. So, in order not to be late, what should I do?' The parent, the father, thinks it over: 'Late getting to school, a long distance, hmm.' That's strategy, that's jalan melereng. The father says, 'want to get a bicycle?' That's jalan melereng.*" 45

Pak C emphasizes how indirection in social intercourse is a skill that one must learn in order to be considered qualified to be a leader. (He is referring to men only, for even in this matrilineal society only men have leadership titles, although women are often quite influential.) The words that Pak C uses for indirection are melereng, ereng, and gendeng, which in the literal sense mean sloping, slanting, like a path going across a mountainside. Moussay (1995:413) gives the whole expression, "tau di ereang dangan gendeang," to understand the allusions and insinuations of others. Pak C had referred to the Minangkabau great house (rumah gadang) as a model for Minangkabau life because it is not "simitris." Here simitris cannot mean symmetrical, for the Minangkabau house is certainly bilaterally symmetrical in plan. Rather, he is referring to the roof, which is steeply sloping with multiple, upturned roof beams.

Many languages use such multiple registers. Much attention has been paid by linguists to different lexical items used in such strongly

class-marked societies. However, Judith Irvine, in her analysis of Wolof, has emphasized how registers are used to express or conceal emotion (1990). Although I heard much talk about these registers, I do not have the sorts of linguistic data that Irvine uses in her analysis of the Wolof registers. It is striking that people are so insistent that "knowing the four," being able to use these four registers properly, is such an essential part of being Minangkabau. At the extreme, both Japanese and Javanese have almost parallel lexicons for speaking up or speaking down. In many languages there are second-person pronoun options for different status people—Cambodian (Khmer) is supposed to have over a dozen such obligatory choices. French and German still must choose between formal and familiar pronouns. But these Minangkabau registers are primarily marked not by lexicons but by ways of phrasing—like the use of indirection, allusion, and such in Jalan Melereng. The one exception seems to be pronouns. For example, den, a first person pronoun in Minangkabau, is considered too coarse and is replaced in melereng by the more polite hambo.

Stone Lore: Regulating Emotion with Ring Stones

Although this book specifically concentrates on the explicit knowledge of my small set of informants, it is worthwhile making a brief digression here to note the beliefs surrounding some objects that have a particularly important bearing on ideas concerning the regulation of emotion. Many Minangkabau believe that anger and love can be controlled by certain stones worn in rings. Yet nowhere in this study was the tension between orthodox Islam and Minangkabau-folk belief so apparent as when I tried to discuss these rings. The rings are worn mainly by lower–class, young men (never women). On the one hand, my informants who were middle-class, middle-aged, and respectable Muslims strongly rejected the stone lore as non-Muslim superstition and resisted my attempts to discuss it. Although in other respects they enthusiastically supported my desire to understand Minangkabau culture, here they drew the line. They would not even refer me to experts, saying that they did not know any.

On the other hand, there were the men who sell the stones. They cluster at the western end of the upper market in Bukittinggi. Some spread their wares on plastic sheets on the ground, others occupy tables under the roof of the market building. They all sell the stones, loose or set in cheap brass rings. A few bring grinding wheels made from bicycle parts to shape stones to fit the metal

rings. Some sell only the stones and rings, others add a variety of other objects, seemingly with some ritual or magical use, like miniature knives two or three centimeters long. I sometimes tried to start conversations with these men, even buying a ring or two to encourage them, but had little luck. It is my strong impression that the knowledge about the stones is a closely guarded secret, and that I was not welcome. However, the general shape of the stone lore is clear.

The stones themselves are quartz types—silicized rocks. They include opals, cryptocrystalline quartz, quartz, and some fossil shells and palm stems. (I am indebted to Dr. Philip Hellman for these identifications.) The stones come in a variety of colors and many show combinations of colors or have impurities that create streaking, spotting, and even lines. The stones range in price from a couple of U.S. dollars to several hundred dollars. (Among the more expensive are those with designs that can be read as Arabic letters, especially aleph, for Allah.)

There seem to be four main sorts of functions of such stones: some can attract young women as a sort of love charm. (I bought an example of a cloudy stone with a rusty orange impurity that, from the back, contains a small crevasse in the stone. For best effect a small piece torn from a Qur'an would be wadded up inside the hole and then, claimed the dealer, it would turn a woman's anger into love. Or, he said, I could use a piece of a Bible.) Some stones offer protection from poison (there is an old belief that people in other areas add poison to food that they serve to travelers). Some stones can be worn to make a meek man more aggressive (berani), but if a man is too easily angered, there are yet other stones that will help him control his anger.

This stone lore is certainly a part of "Minangkabau culture." But I have defined the object of this study as the culture of a small set of people who, as it turns out, do not wear these stones and explicitly deny belief in their powers. Yet, these same people occasionally referred to the ring lore and clearly knew about it. So I include this as knowledge, (if not belief and certainly not practice) in this account.

As a comparative note: according to the Minangkabau stone lore, the ring stones have fixed attributes. My brief queries in Central Java (in Yoygakarta), where the culture is very different from the Minangkabau of West Sumatra, suggest that the powers of ring stones are much more relative. A man looks not for a specific kind of stone with specific powers, but for that individual stone that will work harmoniously to gain his own particular goals. (Ideas of

harmony and compatibility—cocok, sesuai, etc.,—are especially basic in Central Javanese culture [C. Geertz 1960:31].)

American readers may remember the "mood rings" that were faddish in the 1960s. But while the Minangkabau stones are supposed to control emotions, the mood rings were said to reveal emotions (presumably by the skin heat turning the plastic "stones" to different colors.)

Metaphors of Emotion and Other Figurative Speech

One striking feature of talk about emotion is the extensive use of figurative speech. George Lakoff and Zoltan Kovesces have been particularly influential in studying this. It appears likely that not only do all languages use figurative speech in talk about emotion, but also that the basic metaphors are surprisingly constant across cultures (Lakoff and Kovesces 1987, Kovesces 1995, 2000).

In my 1980s research I had begun with emotion words—literal language—as a way to access information about emotions. But in the current stage of the research I go beyond literal language to explore the figurative language that opens up the deep cultural assumptions, or cultural schemas, that people have about their emotion life.

The Flow of Emotion, circa 2000 (figure 2.4, p. 28) specifies many different factors making up a satisfactory account of an emotion. But here let us turn to one small piece of the whole jigsaw puzzle: figurative speech. Minangkabau language is rich with allusions of all sorts. Short rhyming sets of couplets called pantun are widely known, and adults often insert them in speech, especially when they are engaged in more formal talk. Pantuns are just one source of figurative speech. I began by asking people for figurative speech about emotion. (Minangkabau use several terms like kiasan, tamsil, ibarat, and sindiran for figurative speech, but in ordinary usage these terms do not map precisely onto formal English categories like metaphor or simile. Thus I have resorted to the more general phrase "figurative speech.") Such images were also mentioned when we discussed specific emotions. And sometimes I asked about the causes of physical feelings like cold or hot. This latter is particularly interesting because Lakoff and Kovesces have established that a common "productive-source metaphor" for anger in English is the HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. This productive-source

metaphor generates much figurative speech about anger in English: for example,

"he blew his top"
"I exploded at her"
"I was boiling with anger."

They show that behind this is an even more basic and productive-source metaphor of THE BODY AS CONTAINER of emotion: for example,

"he was full of hate"
"he was full of love"
"he was full of anger, joy, et cetera…"
"he was brimming over with…"

And Kovesces (1995) has found similar metaphors of anger in Hungarian, Japanese, and perhaps in Chinese, as well as strong hints of it in Wolof (West Africa) and Tahitian.

So, with these findings in mind, I proceeded to collect as much Minangkabau figurative speech as possible both in Minangkabau and in Indonesian. (The two languages are very closely related, and it may not make a significant difference which one we use—for the most part, speakers move from one to the other by standard vowel shifts.)

In Minangkabau this figurative speech tends to appear as short telegraphic sayings. For *marah* ("anger"), for example, we find:

Rasa marah, mendidih darahnya. When angry, the blood boils.

One of the terms in the anger cluster is panas hati, literally "hot liver." (The liver, not the heart, is the seat of emotion.) Other anger phrases are sempit hati (sempit is narrow, tight); sakit hati (sakit here implying pain). (Although my data locate it in the "anger" area, Echols says, "Offended, harboring resentment"); and naik pitam—flaring up of dizziness, and naik darah—rising or flaring up blood.

And finally, harimau di perut, kambing keluar mulut. There is a tiger in the stomach but a goat comes out of the mouth. (Goats are thought to make sweet—manis—sounds.)

Even in this small sample, we see metaphoric heat and containers. The goat-and-tiger image is particularly interesting, for it suggests a situation in which there is a felt inner state of anger, but the sweet spoken words do not reflect that anger. In the study of anger one

speaks of display rules, by which a person controls their expression of an emotion by exaggerating, diminishing, neutralizing, or masking it with the expression of another emotion (see Ekman and Friesen 1969:75). In English-language folk psychology we sometimes accuse a person who is masking their real feeling of being hypocritical. But here the Minangkabau do not make any explicit claim of intentional deception and, in fact, usually put great value on concealing strong and negative emotions.

At this point let us turn to the examples that I have collected from Minangkabau. The list (see appendix) shows figurative speech for 11 emotions. This is an incomplete collection, but it is probably representative. It was gathered over the two four-month periods of discussions about, among other topics, figurative speech. Examples also emerged in the course of more general discussions of emotion with the various informants. Most examples came from more than one source, with slight variations, in Minangkabau or Indonesian.

In order to compare this Minangkabau list with the English lists, we must again emphasize that the realms of emotion and perasaan are not precisely equivalent. So, these examples of figurative speech refer to words that Minangkabau consider to be perasaan.

Comparing this list with the English-language lists, I can suggest several points. But first, a methodological plaint: neither Lakoff nor Kovesces explain satisfactorily how they collect and verify their examples. Lakoff is an American and a native-English speaker; Kovesces is presumably a native-Hungarian speaker but fluent in English. I assume that they are their own best sources. A native-American-English speaker who reads their writing can verify intuitively the validity of their examples of metaphors, but is bound to question their analyses at points. In particular, look at the first step of the analysis, which is to recognize the "productive-source metaphor" that generates the metaphors that people actually utter.

So, Kovesces' claim that "she is boiling with anger" is generated from an implicit, unspoken productive-source metaphor "ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER" (2000:21) seems reasonable. But "AN ANGRY PERSON IS A FUNCTIONING MACHINE" as a productive-source metaphor that generates "that really got him going" seems more problematic.

I am facing this problem in trying to formulate productive-source metaphors for such common Minangkabau images as "the tiger in the stomach, the goat comes out of the mouth." The very telegraphic allusiveness of the utterance leaves much to the imagination. What might a productive-source metaphor be in this case? A container?

(We might expect it, since it seems to be so widespread.) A captive animal? Aggressive animal behavior?

Few of Kovesces' productive-source metaphors really seem to fit the Minangkabau data. But I would compare Minangkabau images with English examples in more general terms:

1. The Minangkabau examples tend to be indirect allusions rather than the more earthy direct metaphors of English (like boiling, smoldering, and snarling.) Indirection and allusion certainly characterize much of Minangkabau speech and behavior.
2. The English metaphors, especially those generated by the CONTAINER base, seem concerned with not just liquid but quantities of liquid, while the Minangkabau metaphors have very few references to quantities of any sort.
3. The Minangkabau examples are more concerned with external interactive behavior, while the English examples have more reference to an individual's inner states. Again, this reflects the generalization that Minangkabau culture in many respects tends toward the interaction end of an inner state-interaction continuum (Heider 1991a:114).
4. These two collections are certainly incomplete, but we can still roughly sort the examples by English-emotion categories, comparing the distribution of this collection of Minangkabau figurative speech with Kovesces' (2000) list of productive-source metaphors. There are some striking differences in frequencies and so, perhaps, in cultural saliency:

Kovesces: English	Minangkabau
23 love	12 shame
15 happiness	9 arrogance
14 sadness	7 nostalgia
12 anger	10 anger
11 lust	5 sadness
11 fear	5 fear
	4 love
9 shame	5 fear
5 pride	4 happiness
3 surprise	2 surprise
	2 confusion
	1 revenge
	1 clever
	1 offended

We should not make too much of this, but it is striking that shame and arrogance, while relatively low in the English collection, top the provisional Minangkabau list. And these are the particularly interactive, social, emotions.

5. Although the Minangkabau are all Muslim, and Islamic concepts are prevalent in their general talk about their folk psychology and about emotions, these metaphors do not seem to have any Islamic content. Is it possible that such influence is there, but implicit? Or is it possible that these metaphors somehow represent a complex of understandings that are pre-Islamic, or extra-Islamic? On the other hand, the metaphors in English are not obviously Judaeo-Christian, so perhaps this indicates something generally about such metaphors.
6. The Minangkabau collection is full of images of nature: plants, animals, birds, the moon, water. In fact we find this throughout Minangkabau talk about their folk psychology, and people explicitly base it on the well-known saying, alam takabang jadi guru—unfolding nature becomes the teacher (see above, p. 48). Obviously, foraging cultures and farming cultures must know their natural environment well, and it is hardly surprising that they incorporate natural images in their talk. But few people can so explicitly and insistently draw on nature as do the Minangkabau. Although today they are increasingly moving into cities, the traditional, agrarian village culture is still very real, either as the model by which they still live or as the model from which they have recently escaped.

I do not mean to suggest that all agrarian societies have the same nature metaphors. One in my collection is "the fuller, the lower," about humility, or the lack of arrogance of the wise person. This saying is called "the wisdom of the rice" (ilmu padi). The image evoked is of a full head of rice being bowed low by the weight of the grains. Yet another similar image, with wheat instead of rice, comes from another agrarian society but has quite a different meaning. In the book of Genesis (37:6–8) Joseph related a dream to his brothers: " 'Hear this dream which I have dreamed: behold, we were binding sheaves in the field, and lo, my sheaf arose and stood upright; and behold, your sheaves gathered round it, and bowed down to my sheaf.' His brothers said to him, 'Are you indeed to reign over us?' So they hated him yet more for his dreams and for his words."

This in-your-face arrogance is a far cry from the humility of the Minangkabau image. We shall discuss this image of the ripe rice stalks in the section on sombong, "arrogance," below.

This leads to a speculative hypothesis: Recall that Lakoff and Kovesces identified the productive-source metaphor of anger in English (as well as Hungarian and Japanese), HOT FLUID IN A CLOSED CONTAINER. Could this be an Industrial Revolution image only recently emerging in industrial societies? In American English we have seen comparable metaphors emerge in recent years: the space age gave us "going ballistic," and even more recently we have produced "going postal," both metaphors for extreme anger. Kovesces argues convincingly that the HEAT productive-source metaphor comes from the actual physiology of anger—flushing of the blood, increasing skin temperature (see, for example, Ekman, Levenson, and Friesen 1983). But the CLOSED CONTAINER that gives us metaphors like "he blew his top" and "he exploded" sounds like the steam engine. The basic picture of traditional Minangkabau, embedded still in its figurative speech—the metaphorical present—is certainly pre-Industrial Revolution agrarian.

To bolster this speculation we can make a brief side trip to look at some eighteenth-century English literature. If the reader will indulge this detour, its relevance to the twenty-first-century Minangkabau will become apparent. Our examples were written mainly before 1869, the date that James Watt patented the first practical steam engine. In particular, there are Henry Fielding's two novels, *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and *Tom Jones* (1749); Laurence Sterne's novel, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (published in parts during the 1760s); and James Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, first published in 1791 but written down from 1763 on.

In all of these, there is much reference to anger as heat, which reflects the physiological heat accompanying anger states. In *Joseph Andrews*, for example: "In the first heat of my resentment" (p.201—these citations are to the edition noted in the bibliography.); "soon cooled her rage" (p.262); "her fury was vented all on herself" (p.262); "in the agonies of love, rage and despair…These boiling passions" (p.306).

Tom Jones has much talk of anger but little of heat, and in fact anger is usually mentioned without any recourse to figurative speech. But there are some exceptions: "The rage…having vented itself"

(p.130); "venting his wrath" (p.165); "the wrath which kindled in him" (p.198); "vented their wrath" (p.201); "sparks of fiery rage" (p.231); "his anger is too much kindled" (p.246).

In *Tristram Shandy* we find: "Make his passions go off like gunpowder" (p.191); "she fumed inwardly" (p.236); "the hasty sparks of temper" (p.265); "Susannah's spleen was ready to burst at it" (p.331).

Boswell often reported Dr. Johnson's anger, but curiously enough, only in the entries for the year 1778 does he resort to figurative speech to describe this anger: "Dr. Johnson said nothing at the time; but inflammable particles were collecting for a cloud to burst" (p.656); "passion struggling for a vent" (p.657); "roared out with another tremendous volley... During this tempest I sat in uneasiness, lamenting his heat of temper" (p.666); "explosions of violence" (p.671); "the cloud was charged with sulphurous vapor, which afterwards burst in thunder" (p.679).

This hardly exhausts eighteenth-century English writing, but is nevertheless suggestive. It seems that in the eighteenth century, anger is strongly associated with heat and occasionally with the specific heat of fire, gunpowder, or boiling liquid, and is vented, like steam from a tea kettle. But the post-Industrial Revolution metaphors that Lakoff and Kovesces have convincingly assembled for twentieth-century anger seem quite absent from this earlier corpus. This supports the idea that Minangkabau figurative speech of anger, at least, is drawn from the agrarian village experience. By the late nineteenth century, the Dutch had built railroads from the coast into each of the three districts of the Minangkabau heartland, and certainly by the first half of the twentieth century, internal-combustion automobiles could be seen in the highlands, but apparently neither cars nor trains have yet made their influence felt in Minangkabau figurative speech about anger.

On the other hand, this may have little to do with tea kettles and railroad trains and more to do with broader social change. Carol and Peter Stearns, in their history of anger, emphasize a change in the idea of family:

> A new emotionology about anger, created first in the eighteenth century, launched a long learning period for many Americans, during which the new values gradually began to affect some aspects of the actual experience of anger. By later nineteenth century, at least, the experience of anger itself was beginning to show the effects of a century of emotionological emphasis on the importance of control (1986:15).

In the eighteenth-century images cited, anger simply vents, while the twentieth century uses metaphors of control and loss of control of anger.

A Smile for Every Emotion?

And finally, a speculative excursion into more Minangkabau talk about emotion: The American ethnomusicologist Mantle Hood once wrote, "Among the many refinements of Javanese society is the ideal of concealing the emotions—it is sometimes said that there is a Javanese smile for every emotion." (1963:455) This seems like a concise illustration of a Javanese-display rule for masking emotions with smiles. But it raises some questions: (1) Who said it? The knowledgeable Javanese whom I have asked about it deny ever having heard it. (2) Could it be a colonial Dutch reaction to "inscrutable Orientals?" More recently Niels Mulder quoted the same thing about Thai (1980:ix). More inscrutable Orientals? It sounds like a prime example of "colonial wisdom," used to explain why Europeans had trouble understanding their Orientals. (My favorite example of this was when a Dutch official in Netherlands New Guinea in 1961 assured me that the Dani language had no grammar and so was too difficult to learn.) But in any case, even Americans are familiar with different smiles serving different emotion states. We tend to accept easy generalizations on the order of "the Javanese mask emotions while Americans show their emotions." But the apparently simple term "Americans" lumps together many cultures and thus many styles of facial management. And Paul Ekman, discussing just American smiles, writes that "there are dozens of smiles, each differing in appearance and in the message expressed" (1992:150).

The interesting questions arising from this have to do with how people think and talk about the masking of emotion, and what they say about decoding or reading such masked emotions. Here I present a preliminary inventory of Minangkabau smiles. I began using dictionary phrases for smiles and was able to add a few others. The general word for smile is senyum:i or sanyun:m and the phrases take the form senyum kambing, goat smile. After working through the labels of smiles, I turned around and asked which smiles were used with which emotions. When I reversed the order, and began with the emotions, I only rarely elicited these more technical terms for the smiles. Among my informants there was general recognition of 15 kinds of smiles, although there was considerable disagreement about what terms referred to. On the basis of

similarity and some cross-referencing, I sort the 15 smiles into 6 groups:

A. Happy Smiles

1. senyum lebar ("broad smile")—women said that this was a happy, laughing smile, but Pak B said that it was smiling but not really laughing.
2. senyum manis ("sweet smile")—men said that this was a happy smile, as when one meets a lover.
3. senyum Nabi ("the smile of the Prophet")—a wise (arif) smile, not expressive, doesn't show the teeth, makes no sound. This follows the example of the Prophet Mohammed. When he was happy he didn't roar with laughter, that would have been too coarse.
4. senyum gairah ("enthusiastic smile")—this expresses one's enthusiasm, or semangat.
5. senyum simpul ("embarrassed smile")—very happy, but dampening down the smile.
6. senyum dikulum ("mumbled smile")—restrained, lips together so teeth don't show, happy, happily embarrassed.
7. senyum tipis ("thin smile")—barely visible, lips tight together.

B. Painful Smiles

8. senyum meringgis ("grimace")—forced smile in pain, or sad, but bearing up.
9. senyum getir (" bitter smile")—afraid, sad, bitter, forced smile, teeth clenched.

C. Forced Smiles

10. senyum *sumbang* ("cynical, discordant smile")—forced, not a full smile, negative, lips a bit up, sad, afraid, perhaps in contempt.
11. senyum kecut ("grin, afraid smile")—forced, feel sorrow, danger, bitter, insulted, guilty, afraid.
12. senyum hambar ("forced smile")—forced, flat, cold, lacks semangat.

D. Contemptuous Smiles

13. senyum sinis ("cynical smile")—contemptuous
14. senyum kambing ("goat smile")—contemptuous, mocking smile.

15. senyum kuda ("horse smile")—proud, contemptuous, mocking, coarse laughter at someone.

Then, turning the question around to ask what smiles would be appropriate for the following emotions:

—malu ("shame, embarrassment")—s. dikulum, s. simpul
—senang ("happy")—s. lebar
—*takut* ("fear")—s. kecut
—nafsu ("desire")—s. gairah
—*terkejut* ("surprise")—s. kecut
—jengkel ("annoyed")—s. kecut, s. getir, s. pahit
—sombong ("proud, arrogant")—s. sinis, s. kuda, s. meringgi, s. kambing
—semangat ("enthusiasm")—s. lebar, s. manis
—*kasih* ("love, nurturance")—s. simpul, s. manis, s. Nabi, s. dikulum
—bangga ("proud")—s. lebar
—sedih ("sad")—s. getir, s. pahit
—marah ("anger")—This was the most interesting case since the masking of anger is so important in Minangkabau. People said that anger could be expressed by s. sinis, s. sumbang, and s. pahit (a bitter smile). Women discussed how the anger smile would be slanted, asymmetrical (pencong), and men said it would be a senyum diplomat.

This is a compilation of the labels for smiles as given by my Minangkabau informants. Often they would demonstrate different smiles, but I did not attempt a systematic test of peoples' recognition accuracy. In some cases they differ from the definitions in the Echols-Shadily dictionary. Since the dictionary is presumably based mainly on Javanese speakers, it is not surprising that these Minangkabau have somewhat different understandings. I would predict, however, that a similar investigation with Javanese informants, who are supposed to be much more concerned with masking their emotions, would produce many more kinds of smiles.

The matter of reading, or decoding, the smiles when used to mask other emotions is dealt with throughout this book. These well-educated, religious Minangkabau constantly stressed how important both education and piety are in understanding smiles. It would be fascinating to link this repertoire of smiles to the sorts of training in emotional intelligence described in the previous chapter.

Chapter 5

Eleven Minangkabau Emotion Clusters

This chapter takes a closer look at what people say about 11 different emotions, or emotion clusters. These are particularly intriguing because of anomalies or complexities that are not expected. Each of the 11 sections begins with the key emotion word and then moves to others in the same cluster. Sometimes I also consider antonyms, as when sombong ("arrogance") leads us to "humility" (rendah hati). During the fieldwork I focused on each of these clusters for at least two weeks, giving each of the solo men at least two sessions and meeting with each focus group once. I announced the topic and then stood back to allow people to go where they would with that idea. As a result, what was lost in strictly comparative and quantifiable data was made up for in rich culturally relevant information. Different emotion words triggered different sorts of discussions. For example, people were especially eager to talk about social damage and social punishments for various transgressions that produced malu ("shame"), but with anger they dwelt on the ways in which people could conceal their own anger and recognize anger in others.

Islam came into the discussions especially where Arabic emotion words were used (as takabur, the Godless aspect of sombong, "arrogance"). In a few instances certain emotions like anger or revenge were considered to be forbidden by Islam or, at least, forbidden when they got out of control. And people did acknowledge some apparent contradictions between Islamic and Minangkabau-folk beliefs. In particular, when speaking of the value of concealing behaviors (i.e., that which results in malu) or masking emotions such as anger, for, as some pointed out, since Allah is all-knowing, true concealment of any thought is impossible.

There was little support for a clear category of perasaan or "emotion." People were quite comfortable with ambiguity here, as in the discussions of sombong: when comparing sombong with bangga, sombong is only an attribute, while bangga is a perasaan. Yet, when compared with *angkuh*, sombong is a perasaan. And marah

("anger") is a perasaan but can also be used as an attribute, as in the form pemarah, an angry person.

We also hear of gradations linking emotion words, as when bangga can intensify into sombong, or where marah can cause *dendam*.

In these 11 sections, then, we hear the voices from the groups and the solo men as they try to explain to me the rich and often contradictory ideas that they have about emotions and folk psychology. And each section begins with a summary of the 1980s research (from Heider 1991a).

Before proceeding further let us briefly recapitulate some findings from the earlier phase of this research.

Emotion Words

Naming the Realm

In the book *Landscapes of Emotion* (1991a), I dealt at length with Minangkabau emotion words as well as the Indonesian emotion vocabulary as it was used by Minangkabau and also by central Javanese. Since these words were the entry point for investigating Minangkabau talk about emotion, and were the starting point for this present research, we should review the earlier findings.

Although there is no problem finding local words that adequately represent the Indonesian semantic realm that best corresponds to the emotion realm in English, the real problem lies in choosing which word to use. In 1982, I found that perasaan hati (raso ati:m) worked best with my Minangkabau informants, and I simply carried it over to my questionnaires for the central Javanese research. Rasa:i/raso:m is the root word meaning emotion and hati:i/ati:m denotes the liver, supposedly the seat of emotion. By the mid-1990s, I learned that Dr. Johanna Prawitasari, a psychologist at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, central Java, was using the word emosi in her research on emotion in Java and elsewhere in Indonesia (1998). I had found that this English cognate word was used by the Minangkabau only for the strongly negative emotions in the "anger" cluster. During this second round of research in 2000 and 2001, Minangkabau were still using emosi in the restricted sense of anger, but were using perasaan for the realm, having dropped the hati. Language always changes, of course. It is somewhat of a moving target, so this should not come as a total surprise, but I cannot give a specific explanation for this shift.

Defining the Realm (Heider 1991a:41–51)

To determine the limits of the realm of emotion I had used a list of 209 Minangkabau words and a list of 229 Indonesian words. I assembled these lists from my own knowledge, from dictionaries, and from discussions with my research assistants. Then 50 Minangkabau adults judged the Indonesian list, and 50 judged the Minangkabau list, checking one of the following for each word:

> Apakah kata-kata berikut ini artinya PERASAAN HATI BETUL, atau SIFAT saja?
> Kalau menurut anda, kata ini BETUL perasaan hati, lingkarilah kata: perasaan hati
> Kalau menurut anda, kata ini BUKAN perasaan hati, coretlah kata: bukan perasaan hati
> Kalau kurang gelas, atau kalau anda tidak tau pasti, garis bawahilah kata: mungkin/td tau.
> (Are the following words truly emotions, or just attributes?
> If, according to you, the word is truly an emotion, circle it: emotion
> If, according to you, the word is not an emotion, draw a line through it: not an emotion
> If it is not clear, or you are not sure, underline the word: maybe/don't know)

I then took the percentage of "certain" answers as the index of emotionality, or measure of prototypicality, for that word. The results showed a distribution from 100 percent to 0 percent, indicating that the realm of emotion words is not strongly bounded. (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson et al. found the similar range of emotionality for American subjects judging English emotion words [1987]). The strongest Indonesian words, at 100 percent, were cinta, "love," rindu, "nostalgia," and *kangen*, "longing." The last two, closely related, are the emotions attributed to out-migrants longing for home. Since out-migration (merantau) is such a salient pattern of Minangkabau life (see above, p. 15) the high prototypicality of the two words makes much sense. This issue is explored at greater length in the discussion of rindu (pp. 175–185).

There were some surprises, though. Marah, "anger," gets a low rating (65 percent), and other words that from an English-language perspective seem less emotion-like get higher ratings, for example, gelisah ("nervous") and risau ("restless"), both at 96 percent, and rusuh ("restless") and berbedar ("to throb"), both at 89 percent.

Table 5.1 Is this word an emotion (perasaan), an attribute (sifat), or a condition (keadaan)? The Indonesian words, their English glosses, their emotion-prototypicality ratings, and the judgment or judgments of each focus group. These results show the ambiguity inherent in these Indonesian categories.

Indonesian word, "English glosses," emotion-prototypicality ratings in %	*Women's FG #1*	*Women's FG #2*	*Men's FG #1*	*Men's FG #2*
Asmara, "love," 76	perasaan	perasaan	perasaan	perasaan
Makan hati, "sadden," 93	perasaan	perasaan	perasaan	perasaan
Sakit hati, "annoyed," 93	perasaan	perasaan	perasaan	perasaan
Berat hati, "heavyhearted," 86	perasaan,	perasaan	keadaan	perasaan, sifat
Rendah hati, "humble," 86	perasaan	*	sifat	*
Ikhlas, "sincere," 75	perasaan,	perasaan	perasaan	perasaan, keadaan
Lesu, "weak," 61	kondisi ("condition")	keadaan	keadaan	keadaan, sifat
Sungguh, "serious," 75	sifat	keadaan	keadaan	sifat
Rajin, "industrious"	*	keadaan	*	keadaan
Yakin, "sincere," 86	keadaan	keadaan	keadaan, perasaan	sifat, perasaan
Keluh-kesah, "complain," 89	perasaan	keadaan	keadaan	perasaan
Berdebar, "excited," 89	perasaan	perasaan	keadaan	perasaan
Berdenyut, "throb"	perasaan	keadaan	keadaan	perasaan, sifat
Bergetar, "tremble"	perasaan	perasaan	keadaan	perasaan

*Word not presented to that focus group.

This part of the study has been strongly criticized (by Goddard 1995) as being illogical and inconsistent with data or impressions based on the closely related Malay, the language spoken in Malaysia (although neither data nor methodology nor origin in Malaysia of subjects on which Goddard's criticism is based are explained). To

pursue this question further, in 2001, I presented each focus group with a list of 14 problematic Indonesian words—words that according to English logic had been rated surprisingly high or surprisingly low. I asked each group to say whether the word referred to an emotion (perasaan), an attribute (like clever), or a condition (like being tall).

Table 5.1 shows the 14 words with their approximate English glosses and their prototypicality ratings (from 1991a), and then the judgments of each focus group in 2000. Of the 14 words, only 4 got unanimous judgments from all four focus groups, but another 7 got agreement from 3 of the 4 focus groups. In short, even within this culturally homogenous group there was less than complete consensus about the status of the words.

These results are what one would expect from a fuzzy category. If "perasaan" were a strongly bounded category, then one would expect individual words to be either very high or very low in their percent of membership in the category: either close to 100 percent or close to 0 percent, and one would expect most words to get the same four judgments from the groups. Instead the ambiguity expected from the nature of a fuzzy category shows clearly.

Sometimes a group said that a particular word could be more than one thing, depending on the context of use. We shall see more evidence of this ambiguity in chapter 4 where, for example, sombong ("arrogance") is a perasaan if compared to angkuh ("proud") but a sifat if compared to bangga ("proud"). Another kind of ambiguity comes from the fact that a single word may denote more than one distinct emotion. Again, this will emerge in chapter 4 where, for example, takut can resemble either the English fear (of something dangerous) or shame (on being discovered doing something bad). If one relied only on the English translation, it would indeed seem wrong to consider berdengut ("throb"), bergetar ("tremble"), or ikhlas ("sincere") as emotions, yet each has a strong claim to be perasaan according to these four focus groups.

It may be, though, that unless a word can be used in the sentence "saya rasa X" (I feel X) it cannot be a perasaan, or emotion (again, see Goddard 1995). These four groups disagree. Each said that asmara ("love") is a perasaan, and yet denied that one can say "saya rasa asmara." They did offer as acceptable other forms ("saya kasmaraan pada dia" [I asmara for him/her], "saya kena asmara" [I am hit by asmara], and "saya sedang dimabuak asmara:m" [I am drunk with asmara]).

In summary so far, for these Minangkabau informants there is a labeled lexical realm similar to English "emotion," whose members

vary greatly in their degree of membership, or prototypicality, but there are fairly fuzzy boundaries between the realm of perasaan and the realms of sifat (attribute) and keadaan (condition).

Emotion Clusters (Heider 1991a:25–28)

I then gave 50 respondents the master list of emotion words in either Indonesian or Minangkabau and asked them to give a close equivalent word. From these answers I constructed clusters of words. The total number of times that X was named as a synonym for Y, plus the number of times that Y was named as a synonym for X, gave a number that indicated the cognitive distance between X and Y. The higher the number, the closer the distance within the cluster. I defined a cluster as "a set of words with multiple associations among themselves and minimal associations with other words." (1991a:27).

Three versions of this task were done by 50 people each: Minangkabau doing the Minangkabau list, Minangkabau doing the Indonesian list, and central Javanese doing the Indonesian list. Distances between words were the results of totaling up the times each word of a pair was named by the other word. The actual arrangement of the clusters involved some subjective element as I made a best fit by hand. In each of the three versions, the data resulted in clearly recognizable clusters. There were about 44 clusters in each version. And since there were usually some links between clusters these links were grounds to arrange the clusters in relation to each other. Figures 2.3 and 2.4 in chapter 2 are the final maps for the Minangkabau responding to the Indonesian list and for Minangkabau responding to the Minangkabau words.

These diagrams are composite cognitive maps. They are two-dimensional representations of the multidimensional (or even non-dimensional?) ideas that people have in their minds. They do not necessarily represent what any one Indonesian knows or thinks about emotions, but rather are generalized aggregated maps shared by many people. That is, when Minangkabau talk about emotions this is what they share, what allows them to communicate more or less effectively. Although here I am not looking at the schemas of any particular individual, certainly one implication of this claim is that hints about the causes of miscommunication between two people might be found in discrepancies between their unique individual cognitive maps of emotions. In my earlier comparison of Minangkabau and Javanese maps of Indonesian emotion words, I was able to show how the same word was construed differently by the native speakers of the two different languages.

Rather than consider each word as "an emotion," or even just as "denoting an emotion," it is better to think of a cluster as representing an emotion, or a set of very similar closely related emotions. Thus, in English, "anger" and "happy" are clearly quite different. But what of the set of "anger," "annoyed," "aggravated," and "furious"? Our English dictionaries are not very useful for recognizing the existence of such sets or in distinguishing among the members of such sets (but see p.— below), yet most native speakers of English can describe the differing nuances of each term in a set. (A South Carolina politician recently publically excused an action of his as the result of "aggravation, not anger." This fine-tuning is common.) By mapping these clusters we take the first step toward understanding the realm of emotion in a language. We can recognize the words we need to deal with in trying to understand the cluster of "anger." And we can pose the basic question: "How do we adequately describe and distinguish among the emotions of a single emotion cluster?"

At a higher level, the relations between clusters reveal some of the cultural influences of emotion. In English, love and happiness are closely related, and the two clusters are relatively farther from sad. In these Indonesian examples, however, love is close to sadness and farther from happiness. This underlines the differences between love in English and "love" in Indonesian. The latter has traditionally been more nurturance than eroticism. But, perhaps mainly due to exposure to Western films and television in the last few years, younger Indonesians seem to be shifting their "love" cluster toward an English position.

Key Words (Heider 1991a:29–30)

Just as the entire realm of emotion has some words that are more "emotion-like" than others, so the clusters have key words, defined as prototypical or best examples of the cluster emotion. These are identified as those words in a cluster that have been named more times as synonyms of the other words in the cluster. It is also, usually, that word in the cluster with the highest emotionality rating. I would further suspect that the key word is the one earliest learned and most commonly used.

For convenience I refer to a cluster by its key word plus the best English equivalent in quotation marks (to indicate the problematics of translation).

In the previous chapter, we considered how Minangkabau think about emotions in the broader context of folk psychology. Now we can turn to some patterns more directly focused on emotions: ways of talking about emotions and ways of controlling emotions. We

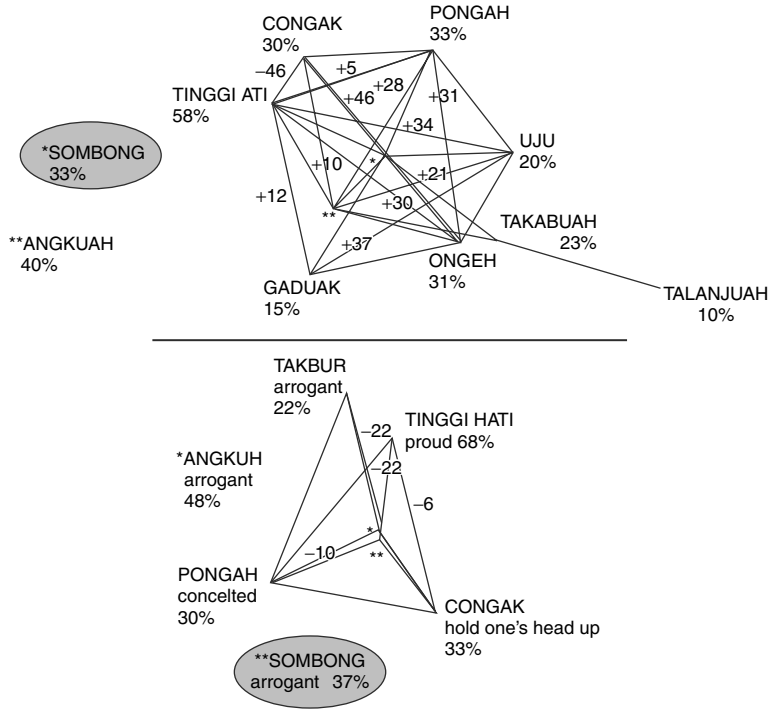


Figure 5.1 Sombong—"arrogant, proud" clusters—above: Minangkabau, below: Indonesian.

Source: Figure 40.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

examine 11 clusters, designated by their key words. I had chosen to focus on these because they seemed most interesting and promised to be the most revealing of Minangkabau folk psychology. Each of the following 11 sections begins with the relevant areas of the cognitive maps of Minangkabau and Indonesian, next summarizes the findings reported in Heider 1991a, and then presents the new findings from the solo interviews and focus-group interviews.

Sombong—"Arrogant, Proud"

Sombong Cluster(s) from the 1980s Research (1991a:85–86; 67; 312–317)

"This is caused by ego being, feeling, achieving more than others, especially by being richer than others" (1991a:316). And the

outcome is social isolation from all, not just confining contacts to other superior people. It is close to arrogant pride or conceit in English, although for Indonesians the superiority is real, while in English it may be merely assumed by the ego. The isolation, or shunning, is more significant for Indonesians, with their emphasis on groupism, than it might seem to Westerners. From the questionnaire responses, it is clear that this shunning is a serious punishment. The out-migration, merantau, so valued by Minangkabau, also cuts the traveler off from daily contact with the group, but it is considered part of one's education and the remittances benefit the home stayers (see chapter 1, p.). While in English, arrogance and conceit are definitely negative, the word pride covers both this negatively charged arrogance and a positive pleasure in someone else's good aspects. "He/she is proud," as well as "he/she is proud of his/her child's accomplishments." In Indonesian and Minangkabau, the two are quite separate. Sombong is the negative emotion, and bangga the other. For Minangkabau, bangga is part of the "happy" cluster, but for Javanese-speaking Indonesian, bangga exists in an isolated cluster and apparently even this emotion is not approved. In neither case were there any cross-references between the sombong and the bangga areas.

Angkuah/angkuh is close to sombong, although wealth as the basis for the superiority is not as prominent as it is for sombong. The outcome of social isolation is as strong for angkuh as for sombong. Clearly, this emotion cluster has some of the most drastic social repercussions of any.

From the New (2000–2001) Research:

A booklet prepared for third-grade students discusses sombong and its opposite, rendah hati (humility, literally, "low liver"): "Islam demands that believers are humble, they cannot be sombong…," and continues, "Minangkabau adat also recommends that citizens be humble. This is illustrated in traditional sayings like,

> Bathe downstream
> Speak quietly
> Don't be sombong
> Have a good soul." 46

Pak C explained, *"If we bathe upstream, it flows downstream, and the water can be dirty. But we have to bathe downstream. When we were small, or visiting, it was forbidden to be upstream and to send*

dirt downstream. To speak in a low voice, humbly, in a humble way. Speak somewhat slowly—this is related to bathing—speech can't be strong." 47

Comparing sombong with bangga, Pak A said: *"A person who fought in the war of independence, although he didn't get anything, only a Guerilla Star, still he is bangga. His children are bangga. Probably he just has a certificate, he has suffered almost unto death, a hero of the revolution, but not everything turned out well. But this is bangga. It is a proper bangga. But if that bangga is taken too far, if they boast, 'If it weren't for my father, the country wouldn't be free!' that's sombong. 'If it weren't for my grandfather, the country would be ruined.'"*

"A ponggak person is ponggak because of beauty. A beautiful person is bangga. A rich person is bangga. Sometimes a smart person is bangga. A person with lots of belongings is bangga…Being bangga within decent limits, with gratitude to God, for a religious Minangkabau, that's proper. But if bangga becomes sombong and goes around without recognizing the help of others, that's sombong. And if it's sombong, it's takbur…it's no longer nice. And a sombong person, one that is too bangga, he is isolated." 48

Pak B said much the same:

> *Sombong arises from the feeling that someone is more than others. Be it in rank, be it in belongings, be it in power, if a woman, in beauty, or if a man, in handsomeness. First he feels bangga, inside he feels bangga, better than others. If he only keeps a little internal bangga, that's all right. At first he doesn't let others see it. But if we show off—our wealth, our rank, our power, then that turns into what's called sombong. There are lots of terms that are the same as sombong: angkuh, ponggak, congak, takbut, tinggi hati. Such people have probably forgotten themselves—that every good they have…God gave them. If a woman is beautiful, it comes from God. If a man is handsome, it comes from God. Wealth, even if we work for it…For sure, God gave good fortune to him who is sombong. So, if he is sombong, that means he is takbur.*
>
> *The difference between sombong and bangga is very small. Sombong at first is bangga…Every person should be bangga, should have semangat—even I myself—if I get a fancy car, I am bangga—bangga, that is a feeling of happiness…but if I show off in front of others…people know that I am sombong.* 49

The first women's focus group said,
"Bangga is only an emotion in the heart"

What about sombong, I asked.

"Sombong is reflected in ordinary behavior."

How is that?

"For example, someone who is sombong was originally poor and then she got a rich husband so that her life became luxurious, she got a nice beautiful house but she didn't want to socialize with poor people any more. Sombong was reflected in her daily behavior."

I asked which of all these words was the worst.

"Takabur is the worst because all these have connections with the Almighty, but takabur means that he has forgotten God, it means it is the worst."

When I followed up on Pak B's connection between bangga and semangat, this group said,

"There is a close connection between semangat and bangga, because feeling bangga, semangat works hard to succeed, he feels bangga and with semangat he attains his goals. With high semangat he has inner bangga, what is achieved is hoping to succeed, semangat motivates the success."

I asked this women's group if there is a difference between men and women in sombong and bangga. *"There is indeed a difference*

—if a woman, for example, is sombong, it can be seen in her daily style, for example wearing lots of gold jewelry, wearing three gold rings, lots of gold; but men are different from women."

For example?

"As for men, the style, appearance, way of walking is sombong, sort of open, a bit strutting."

How?

"Walking like King Kong… if he walks around with his chin up, people will certainly say that he is angkuh. A sombong person is never slumped down

—'he is not the sprout at the top of the sugar palm' [i.e., he thinks he is the highest of all], *as people say. His chest is stuck out, almost like a male model."* 50

The introduction of King Kong in a simile for arrogance reflects the cosmopolitan sophistication of these Minangkabau (see Erb 1998 for a discussion of the worldwide impact of King Kong.) Trivia fans will remember that King Kong, the giant primate introduced in the 1933 feature film, was captured on Skull Island, lying off the south coast of Sumatra.

Bangga and Sombong are closely linked but easily distinguished. They each are some feeling of superiority arising from some sort of success or advantage. Bangga is an emotion, kept to oneself, of

happiness concerning an actual superiority. Sombong is the attribute as displayed to others, where one (usually) mistakenly feels superior to others. Sombong is antisocial, causing others to dislike or even hate the sombong person, or to avoid him. Two groups used the same terms—shunning (disisikan) and banishing (dikucilkan) in describing peoples reactions to sombong. These were the same terms used about the transgression sense of malu (see below, p. 129).

Minangkabau resisted my suggestions that a sombong person had genuine reason to feel superior. One group said that while bangga was true (kenyataan), sombong was not true. To ridicule the error of the sombong person, people often cited figurative speech such as "like a frog under a coconut shell," where the frog mistakenly thinks it is the biggest creature in the world. Other examples in appendix support the idea that sombong is based on a false sense of superiority: the water ripples over the rocks, but the stream is shallow; the barrel makes a great noise when it is empty; the foam rises in the neck of the bottle but has no substance. The successful person forgets his humble origins.

However, bangga is not just approved but is linked to the highly positive semangat. That important concept is found throughout Southeast Asia, where it usually refers to the somewhat mystical soul matter or vital spark. Minangkabau, however, can use it in the more mundane sense of enthusiastic ambition (see above, p. 75). Semangat is the necessary motivating factor that people need to achieve their goals and, having achieved success, properly feel bangga.

Bangga is linked to sombong in a different sense: most people said that while bangga is appropriate and even necessary, when it grows and gets out of hand it becomes sombong. Thus, bangga and sombong, although differently valued, are on a continuum, with bangga potentially a way station to sombong (see pp. 215–9). We discuss this sequential linking of emotions below.

This progress from bangga to sombong occurs in the same person, and so is different from the linking just mentioned above, where one person's sombong causes or evokes dislike or hate in others. These sequential relationships were offered spontaneously by informants and their importance became clear only later, when I began to analyze the interview transcripts.

The visible signs of sombong differ for men and for women. Women show that they are sombong by ostentatious displays of gold jewelry and clothing too elegant for the occasion. Men, on the other hand, show themselves to be sombong by a wide variety of nonverbal behaviors: they strut, they walk like King Kong, they sneer

and curl their lips, cough cynically, have their noses up in the air, their nostrils flared, their chests puffed out, shoulder high, hands on hips: they are MPO (menarik perhatian orang—interesting-looking people).

One men's group spoke of the past, when

"in Minangkabau, women could not show sombong, for example, if they were rich and their children were all successful…also, in the old days in Minangkabau women were not free to go outside the house as men could because there were lots of restrictions, so it was very difficult to even know about their characteristics or demeanors." 51

Although in the realm of figurative speech (see above, p. 102) Minangkabau have a particularly rich repertory of images for sombong, I could find none for bangga. Malu, in its sense of publicized transgressions, and sombong were the two concepts most productive of figurative speech in my collection. This suggests that Minangkabau figurative speech serves a function of social control, providing a means for Minangkabau to admonish other Minangkabau in an indirect manner about behavior that is particularly threatening to the social order.

Another indication of the importance of sombong is the proliferation of synonyms. Moussay, in his comprehensive Minangkabau dictionary (1995) notes 25 words that are synonyms for sombong (and none for bangga). Of course, Moussay drew from all dialect areas as well as sources dating back to the nineteenth century. In my earlier study, where I used data from Minangkabau people regardless of area, I found nine words in the sombong cluster in Minangkabau and six in Indonesian. In this present phase, where I have focused on what my tightly defined set of 21 people actually know, I worked with sombong, bangga, and six other words. One goal is to explore how Minangkabau distinguish among the closely related words of a single cluster, so I often framed my questions as, "What are the differences between sombong and X?"

Angkuh and Sombong:

We are still dealing with a sort of arrogance, but the focus groups said that angkuh was more intense (lebih tinggi) and worse (lebih jelek), while sombong is lower, more humble (lebih rendah). Where people had said that sombong was an attribute (sifat) compared with bangga, an emotion (perasaan), here they say that angkuh is a sifat

compared to sombong, now an emotion. This reinforces the idea that the line between attribute and emotion is uncertain and relative.

A men's group said that sombong and angkuh were

"about the same. As for angkuh, in my opinion, someone has some knowledge or belongings or valuables that he doesn't want to give to another. He wants it for himself. Angkuh. Not a social behavior . . . but sombong, that's being bangga about oneself." 52

For Pak B, angkuh is even worse: *"With angkuh, there's an intentionality buried in the heart—the heart is dirty, rotten, wants to hurt someone . . . So they say 'nasty angkuh' . . . But with sombong, there's only bangga."* 53

Congak and Pongah:

These two were especially difficult for people to define and distinguish. Pak A said, *"Then there's pongah—you can see pongah on the face—there's a big nose—and then they tell stories . . . sometimes they lie . . . Those pongah people, they lie a lot, use lies, not truth. That's pongah. Congak, that's very much like angkuh, but congak: someone gives to a mosque, helps out—a real congak person, wah! He brags. 'Ten thousand rupiahs!' That's congak . . . But the right way, they say, 'what the right hand gives, the left hand doesn't need to know.' . . . God is really angry with congak people."* 54

A women's focus group gave this example:

"If it's the celebrations at the end of the fasting month and one person says they used five kilos of flour to bake cakes and then the other says, "Ten weren't enough for me!" That's congak." 55

Takabur:

When I asked which of these "arrogance" words was the worst, the answer was clear. One women's focus group said, *"They're all bad, but takabur is the worst because all of them are tied to the Almighty, but takabur means that one has forgotten God."* 56

A men's group said,

"A takabur person forgets himself, that means he likes to brag about his abilities. For example, he is told 'Oh, there are lots of wild animals here," but he answers 'I'm not afraid.' But in fact he's afraid of a mouse, let alone a tiger. He's afraid but he talks big . . . It's impossible not to fear a tiger—tigers can kill us. He also says he's not afraid of a ghost, but if he meets one, he's afraid, he runs around every which way. Or a vicious dog

—oh

—'I'm not afraid of a pickpocket, or a thief,' but if a thief comes, he hides

—God is very angry with takabur people. It's a sin." 57

Takabur is from the Arabic, which accounts for its special status as more of a theological term. In English there are also dozens of synonyms for arrogance (see Roget's Thesaurus) but no special term for the positive sense of pride, as Indonesian has with bangga.

Returning to what Minangkabau say about sombong, we have seen quite different ideas about the cause of this arrogance. Is the superiority real or only imagined? If we approach sombong by way of equality and inequality, the explicit view is that since all people are "equally low sitting, equally high standing," then the superiority is imaginary and pernicious and should be severely punished by social isolation. And this is reflected in the figurative speech. Yet, in other conversations people speak of the rich or the wellborn quite matter-of-factly, and without disapproval. It seems that Minangkabau live with such cultural paradoxes but probably, except when participating in these sorts of discussions, do not find themselves put on the spot and systematically having to analyze their own folk psychology.

Malu—"Shame, Guilt"

Malu Region from 1980s Research

At the beginning of this study I had anticipated that the two most significant areas in these Indonesian emotion landscapes would be those centered on marah ("anger") and on malu ("guilt/shame"). Certainly the anger area turned out to be very rich, with five overlapping clusters of words. But this mapping procedure was singularly unsuccessful in uncovering the salience of malu. In all three maps, that word was nearly isolated, linked to only one, two, or three other words. And to the extent that malu (and its close neighbor, *segan*) could be associated with any cluster, it was the cluster with the key word enggan ("lazy").

The schemas were more revealing (Heider 1991:306–309). The antecedents for malu were primarily doing wrong or having some sort of personal stigma, including poor clothing; the outcomes were overwhelmingly withdrawal, avoidance, or silence.

The psychological literature, coming mainly from the West (Europe and North America) (see, for example, Tangney and Fischer 1995) distinguished between two emotions in this area, shame and guilt, along two dimensions. Guilt is a feeling about one's wrong behavior, shame is a feeling that oneself is bad. The reaction to guilt is to correct or compensate for one's wrong action, the reaction to shame is to hide, avoid others, and feel smaller. By these measures the outcomes of the

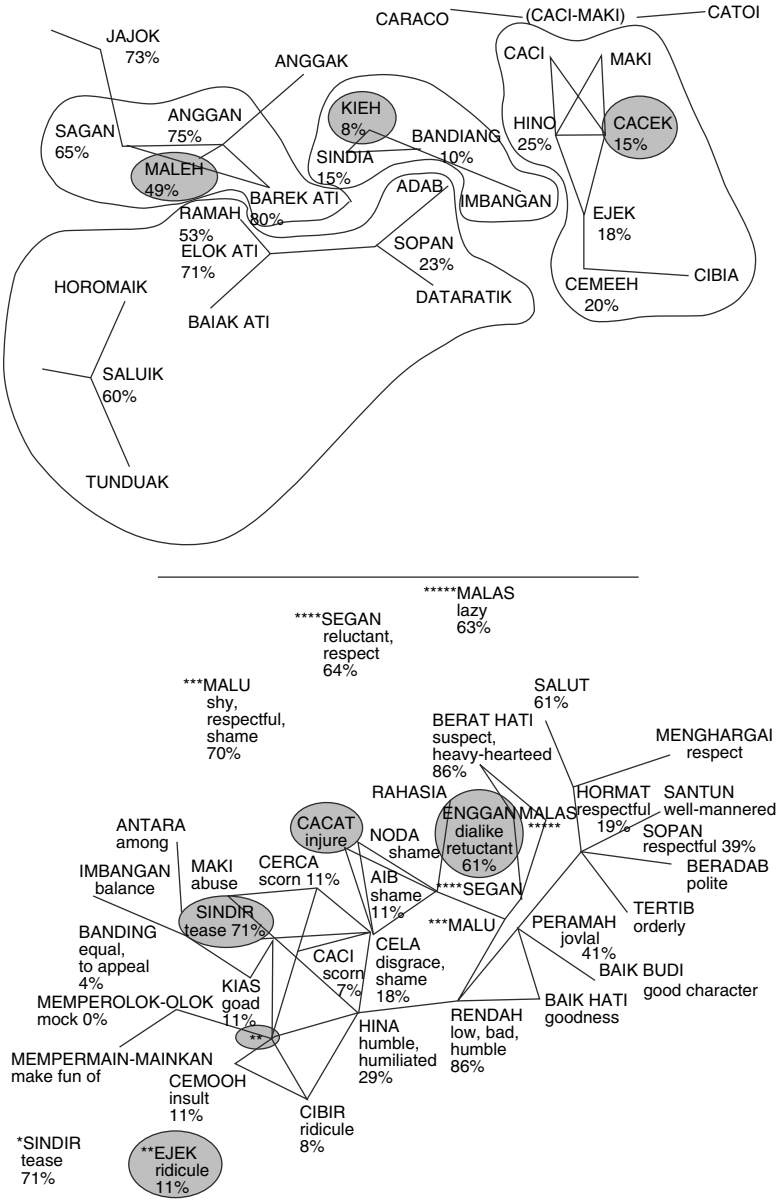


Figure 5.2 Malu—"shame, guilt"—above: Minangkabau, below: Indonesian.

Source: Figures 35.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

Indonesian words are strongly in the shame area, with little hint of correction. The antecedents are inclined to the guilt area, although less strongly. Ironically, we must still use the words "guilt" and "shame" even as we look for ways to distinguish the Indonesian from the English words. But there is no a priori reason to assume that the Indonesian concepts will map neatly onto the European ones. And the whole sense of this research is to look for the culture-specific shaping of emotions.

There was a second puzzle that emerged from the 1980s research. Even as the ostensible center of "guilt/shame" looked so weak in these Indonesian landscapes, there were two apparently unrelated areas where the scenarios hinted at something else close to Western "guilt/shame." One was the *tersinggung* cluster, which I had glossed as "offended," and which often aroused sadness because of shaming talk by a friend. The other is a strong secondary "guilt"-like scenario that emerged in the takut ("fear") cluster. One goal of the present study is to examine these surprises, or apparent anomalies, that were revealed in the analysis of the 1980s data. These shall be discussed in the next two sections.

From the New (2000–2001) Research

Here we begin with malu itself and then explore closely related concepts. In the earlier research only a word or a short phrase could be given in response to a question. The effect of this was to compress and thus distort the meanings of complex, multivalent words. And that is just what malu turns out to be. Now, through these open-ended interviews malu appears to be used in three senses:

a. when a transgression is made public;
b. for an inner compass that prevents wrongdoing;
c. for a sense of inferiority.

This is somewhat of an artificial scheme. None of my informants suggested it in so many words but, as we shall see, it emerges comfortably from their statements and is justified on that basis. In any case there are not three completely distinct meanings. They are closely related aspects of a common theme.

Malu: When a Transgression or Failure Is Made Public

Pak A quoted an aphorism (perpatah): "'*Malu is visible.' We get the feeling of malu when people see us in a bad situation. If it's not visible there is no malu.*" 59

Malu effects the entire group. Pak A gave an example: *"Say, for example—excuse me for saying this—in the village a youth has illicit sex. Arrest him! The sex is not with an outsider, but with women in the same clan. Wow! Have to ask forgiveness. Malu, no kidding! Not just he is malu, but also his parents and his siblings. That's malu, no kidding!"* 60

This sense of malu covers not just misdeeds but also failure. For example, out-migration is an important part of the Minangkabau experience, but not all migrants become wise and rich. Failure abroad is particularly humiliating, as the first men's focus group pointed out:

"Young men abroad, before they leave, are given advice by their uncles or fathers: 'Don't come home before you have succeeded.' So they are required to succeed abroad.

—It's a change of life. To come home without success is like an army defeated in war. They are malu, they rarely come home before succeeding. Thus abroad they are inspired to earn money, achieve a position, social status, and make a name for themselves before they come home."

And if they don't succeed?

"They stay on there, they are malu. Malu to come home. If they come home just as they left, they are ridiculed in the village, they have failed.

—The heaviest malu for a Minangkabau is malu as in 'charcoal marks across the forehead.'

—This is a piece of wood burned to charcoal, so the mark on the forehead is visible and everyone knows of the malu." 61

> That is, the malu is made visible, as visible as charcoal marks on a person's forehead.

Minangkabau are very much aware that cultures vary across Indonesia, and there are different languages, although they are not always correct about the details of the differences. The first men's focus group tried to analyze malu but very much underestimated its strength in Indonesia:

"Malu is different, somewhat broader in the Minangkabau language than malu in Indonesian.

—Malu in Indonesian is just shame of eating too much, or drinking before you are given permission, but in Minangkabau it's broader in range." 62

Calibrating Transgressions:

In the second year Pak A talked again about malu, quoting again that "malu is visible," that if the transgression is not seen, the person is not malu. And then he discussed the concept of the transgressions themselves, those behaviors that, when made public, cause malu. These behaviors range from minor to serious. For the minor ones he used the word "sumbang," which in other circumstances refers to incest, not a minor offense at all. And he called the serious end of the scale *salah*, which usually just means "wrong." "*This sumbang, prof., it's not yet salah. One step more and it's salah. It's called sumbang. Not yet salah. So, if we place something here right on the edge, like this, it's called sumbang.* [And he moves his tea glass so that it hangs over the edge of the table, about to fall off.] *Just a little more and it falls, its position was sumbang. But not yet salah . . . For example, young people can get together, as long as it's in a public place. Or at home if the parents know. But if they are just the two of them in a lonely place, say, Panorama* [a park on the edge of Bukittinggi] *that becomes sumbang because it's close to salah. If they go to the market, perhaps they go to Padang, if there are lots in the car it's not yet sumbang. It's still 'normal'* [in English], *still considered proper. But if there are only two of them in a quiet place, far from others, behind bushes, behind trees, that's sumbang. It's close to salah.*" (And he described other situations, including women's dress:) "*. . . if the blouse is tucked in, with the skirt outside, if that's in the village or the town, that's sumbang.*" 63

But Pak A's examples were mainly about sexual behavior and he said, referring metaphorically to the dangers of a boy and a girl going off together, "*If a durian* [a large Southeast Asian fruit whose name means literally 'spikey'] *mixes with a cucumber in a basket . . . The cucumber is damaged, spoiled. Nothing happens to the durian. Because it has sharp spikes. So, that's misfortune. Because the durian is responsible it has bad luck: 'hands slice things, shoulders carry things'* ['let the punishment fit the crime'—Echols and Shadily 1989:118]. *But lots of durians do not act responsibly—they look for misfortune. So this socializing is sumbang—very quickly, it is not allowed. The uncle says so, the mother, the father says so, they begin to see—'storm clouds come indicating rain, it begins to get dark'* [more or less: where there's smoke there's fire]. *It's obvious—it's sumbang.*" 64

Pak A returned to the principle that everyone in a group is hurt by the misdeeds of one member. He quoted a saying in Minangkabau: *"sikua kabau bakumbuang, sadonyo kaneluaknyo." "When a water buffalo wallows and gets muddy, the other buffalo get muddy too."* And he explained, *"That's because those others belong to the same family, the same clan."* 65

Pak C quoted a similar saying:

Satu orang makan cempedak	If a person eats a cempedak fruit
Semua kena getah.	Everyone gets sticky.

Someone gave examples of malu: *"If I run out of money and steal—pick someone's pocket, and am found out, am arrested, and people see me, then I am malu. Another example: I am walking around and loose my way but don't want to ask directions because I am malu."*

This second example is really the third sense of malu , which we shall discuss below. He continues: *"If a woman sits cross-legged on the floor like a man instead of with legs folded to the side, she will be malu. For example, if we men wear short pants that's malu because it is unusual. For example, if we were to dress like people in Irian* [New Guinea], *we would feel malu. Something outside the ordinary custom, it's called shameful behavior. For example, when Balinese women wear just bras, that's unusual, that's tradition there, but Minangkabau women would feel malu dressed like that."*

I then asked, what if someone robs or steals or drinks liquor and gets drunk—do they feel malu? He answers: *"Well, usually the ones who feel malu are the parents."* I propose: *"What if I steal but no one knows it?"* He responds: *"That's not malu."*

Physical reactions to malu are described: *"When someone is malu, their face gets red. Their face gets pale. There are two reactions. If their face gets pale, that's malu mixed with fear, but if the face gets red, that's malu mixed with anger. They hide their face. It's called a 'malu face.' Their body becomes weak. Usually the result is that something changes. They get a pale face. But it's relative. If someone is used to doing such things, and it's no big problem for them, they can hide the malu. In Minangkabau it's called 'thick ears,' or 'wall face.'"* 66

Calibrating Punishments:

Punishment is associated with this first meaning of malu, when violation is known. There is considerable elaboration of punishments for malu, all having to do with removing the culprit from social

interaction by various degrees of shunning or exile. While people easily volunteered details about such punishments, it was harder to get accounts of actual examples. It seems likely that these punishments, although they are part of the cultural schemas of malu, no longer describe actual behavior.

The interviews allow us to explore what simple translation conceals. Pak A, in the midst of a long discourse on malu, said, "*If a person becomes malu, he goes to another place and never returns home. That's called larek. If a person is malu, he's thrown out.*" I ask, "*Is that 'dikucil'?*" He responds, "*If it's 'dikucil,' he can still stay in the village. But if he is 'dibuang,' he's out of the region, out of the village. It's called 'larek,' he can't come home again. That's for a serious malu . . . In the village his name is erased. He's no longer a member. But his relatives stay. He alone is larek. His parents stay, his siblings stay, that was called shunning (disisih). But shunning is only temporary. For example, one year, two years. Then he pays something and admits his guilt. Then he's brought back.*" 67

And then Pak A expands on the four types of "throwing out" (*buang*): "*It has various names: . . . They are for shunning women . . . Women can't be banished . . . 'buang sirih', throwing out the betel juice.*" (Sirih is the mixture of betel leaf, areca nut, lime powder, and a certain pitch that is chewed both ceremonially and recreationally, producing a red saliva that must be spit out.) "*So you don't spit it—keep it inside the house, not out the window. There's a bowl—a sirih bowl.*" *And* "'*buang tingkaran*'—'*tingkaran*' *are potsherds . . . when a pot breaks, you throw the pieces behind the hearth . . . they're not thrown into the garden, but behind the hearth, where they can still be used.*" "'*Buang bila*'—*bila, that's bamboo—it's just thrown into the yard, behind the house. Then when it's dry it can be used as firewood. You bring it back in . . . And there's 'buang bidak.*' [Bidak are the pieces of a chess-like board game.] *They aren't thrown far away, just near by.*" 68

The other times that Pak A spoke about these punishments he did not really clarify them further. It appears that there is one sort of punishment, larek, that is permanent banishment from village, family, and clan. Then there are others that are temporary, and after a period of months or a year or two the person can be readmitted to the social network. He may have to pay a fine, host a ritual meal, and publicaly beg forgiveness. These punishments are called disisih (being separated), dikucil (perhaps: to be silenced), and most interesting, the four sorts of buang (exiled or banished): betel, bamboo, potsherd, and board-game piece are used metaphorically to describe

the possible fates of humans. Each is an image of something that is put aside for a while and then recalled. But there seems to be no particular order of seriousness for the four buangs.

The consequences of this sort of wrongdoing malu for a traditional leader, either a datuk or a penghulu, are more serious. Pak A quoted a saying: *"badan baraso bayang-bayang:m"*—the body feels shadowed, meaning that even as a shadow never can be separated from the body, so malu is always there. And more specifically, for a leader, *"He is shunned in the village, he is not respected anymore. You know elephant tusks?…Elephants have tusks just like leaders, yes? You know a leader gets malu because he does something wrong. The tusks are loosened, twisted downwards, turned—they are twisted off. And the saying about the tiger—it has stripes, yellow and black—they are scraped off…It means that an important man is removed from office, becomes an ordinary person, even lower than an ordinary person. Because he got malu: gadiang bapiwa, balang bakiku:m—tusks twisted, stripes erased."* 69

But there are ways to negate this kind of malu, to wipe it away (menghapuskan). One can go abroad for a while and let people forget it. Or if one works hard for years it can disappear.

This first sense of malu evoked unexpected information about the nature of village life where both sins and punishments are laid out and calibrated in detail. And what is so significant about the punishments is that they do not inflict physical pain but social isolation. We had already seen this in relation to sombong, in the previous section. The outcome of arrogance was this social isolation. And here the malu that is visible, that is, where the misdeed is made public, leads to exquisitely refined and described sorts of isolation. Physical punishment or even fines are impractical in a village setting, so shunning or banishment are the sanctions of choice.

Malu: An Inner Compass That Prevents Wrongdoing

The second sense of malu is something close to "conscience" or "superego," an inner compass that prevents wrongdoing. A person who lacks this malu is bermuka tebal, "thick faced." The second women's focus group described how malu was "planted" in a child:

"From when they are small, children have malu implanted, they have to have the emotion malu. A person who doesn't have the emotion malu is the same as an animal, so both children and adults must have malu." 70

In the interviews, people did not automatically distinguish between the first sense and this second sense of malu. For example,

immediately after Pak A had explained that "malu is visible," that it resulted from misbehavior that becomes known to others, he shifted into a more orthodox Muslim frame, saying that *"even though people don't see, God sees."* (In Indonesian, both "Tuhan" and "Allah" are used for God, although Christians tend to use Tuhan and Muslims tend to use Allah. But Pak A, a very cosmopolitan Muslim, alternated between the two when speaking with me.) Pak A continued: *"He sees what is hidden inside us, and He knows whatever we do. So malu is very strongly tied to faith . . . A person who has no faith, who doesn't believe, has insufficient malu."* 71

The second men's focus group took a very dim view of the various sorts of people who lack proper malu, naming Javanese, and among Minangkabau themselves, market women and youths:

"The emotion of malu constitutes part of Minangkabau culture. It points out differences with other cultures that certainly have malu, but it's different from Minangkabau malu, for example, in clothing: In Java they say women usually wear just a kember [a sort of revealing breast cloth], *which if worn by Minangkabau women, she would be considered not malu, because Minangkabau adat is based on religion, and if a woman is uncovered it is a sin.*

—it is aurat [referring to parts of the body that are forbidden to be uncovered].

—It's lacking malu, so if she bares her body it means a lack of malu, it's wrong. For example, a Minangkabau indicates that she is different from other groups, saying for example, you must know, must have malu because if not, later it will be said that she has no standards.

—They will say it's like a market woman, for example, who talks crudely and has no malu . . .

—Then in the case of walking, for example, and the style of clothing also there is malu.

—In the way of walking, for example, young males and females who walk hand in hand, it means that they lack malu because if they had it, they wouldn't walk so close together. Also, if they are shoulder to shoulder, it means that they lack malu, that's the case of walking. So the emotion of malu can be seen as an attribute of a person, and one can say that malu can be judged.

—So, as for malu, Minangkabau have to have malu because adat guided by religion must be maintained because adat is guided by religion in the phrase 'adat is based on syariah, syariah is based on the Holy writings [i.e., the Qu'ran et al.].' *Minangkabau have malu and must be maintained.*

—Never to do malu because if one does commit malu the family shares in the malu." 72

And here the men use both the first and the second meaning of malu, sometimes in the same sentence.

In a similar vein, Pak C quoted a pantun that ends in the couplet:

Kok hilang raso jo malu	If you loose raso and malu
Bak kayu lungga pangabek.	It's like a bundle of firewood coming untied.

A common sight along the roads of West Sumatra is stacks of firewood bundles. Here, malu in the sense of the inner compass, is likened to the rattan strips that keep the firewood in orderly bundles. The pantun warns of loosing—loosening—those constraints. The image itself is evocative of the superego, although Minangkabau do not otherwise elaborate a Freudian-like schema of personality.

And in a later interview Pak C elaborated, saying, "*Like a bundle of firewood coming untied. That's a tamsil* [a kind of figurative speech], *it's not literal. A person is destroyed if he doesn't have malu, or doesn't have raso jo pareso.*" 73

And here he has brought in another controlling mechanism, raso jo pareso, the interacting emotion and reason that should guide behavior (see pp. 52–8).

Malu and Budi

Budi, which we discussed in chapter 2, is an important positive personality trait. The first sense of malu is the opposite of budi, but the second sense of malu is much like budi. As Pak B said in reference to this second sense: "*It's the same—one who doesn't have budi doesn't have malu.*" ["Sama itu, tidak berbudi, tidak bermalu."]

The first men's focus group said,

"*Malu is really an emotion possessed by Minangkabau who have budi, who are conscious of doing wrong, then when they do wrong, they feel malu. Certainly in order to do away with the emotion of malu, to wipe clean the emotion of malu, if he recognizes that malu is present, he goes to the person whom he has wronged, he acknowledges it, he apologizes. Generally an apology can do away with malu, when it's clear that a wrong was done, he apologizes, it vanishes, there's no more cause, that's the way it goes.*" 74

The second men's focus group said,

"In some sense, malu can destroy or replace budi. 'jadi malu' is to become malu, to enter into that state. For example, if I lie to Mr. Karl, and it's known, Mr. Karl knows my budi, then it becomes malu, and my face can get red. I don't want to meet his eyes

—it's called mata lawan (opposed eye) because of the malu. 'Budi becomes budi' is most valued, but 'budi becomes malu' is most powerful… Another example: in a village there was a person who kept doing bad things

—the people of the village didn't believe that he had budi, his budi was bad, they didn't believe that he could do good things, that would be difficult, because the true budi must be nurtured, because for Minangkabau the emotion of malu

—the highest value

—must be guarded throughout." 75

And a men's focus group said,

"For Minangkabau, the emotion of malu is the very highest quality and must be constantly protected." 76

This positive sense of malu is discussed in various instruction books. One for third-grade students has a chapter titled, "It is Necessary to Have the Emotion of Malu" (Rasa Malu Perlu Dimiliki) (Zulkarnaini 1966:103). It says, *"The emotion of malu is one of many characteristics of the proper person."* 77 But then the chapter deals mainly with the first sense of malu , that resulting from misdeeds and hurting the entire family.

A book for youth titled "Exploring the Spiritual Attributes of the Minangkabau People" states that "it is well known that the basis and origin of norms and ethics of Minangkabau is a beautiful essence mixed with the inner self (inner emotions) called "the emotion of malu." (Ahmad 1997:40).

Nine Malu for Women, One Malu for Men

A book that is meant as a guide for leaders has a section about Bundo Kanduang. In this context, Bundo Kanduang means the true, ideal, Minangkabau woman. It says: *"According to Minangkabau custom a bundo kanduang (woman) must have the characteristic of malu within herself… Malu is a characteristic bestowed by God in pious and faithful people… According to the teachings of Islam, there are ten kinds of malu, nine for woman and one for men… Malu and faith are two parts of a unity. If one is lost both are lost. Malu is part of faith (al-hadits)."* 79

When I asked the focus groups about the 9:1 formula, both women and men responded with what I took to be amused recognition. They agreed, *"Malu is lighter for men."* The first women's focus group said that *"malu is more deeply rooted in women,"* and they mentioned many examples of restrictions on women: *"According to Islamic religion, women shouldn't sit on their front steps in the evening, or beside the road, or in groups in front of the house, like men"; "to sum up with the nine malu for women, one for men, we conclude that there are lots of rules for women, more is covered*

—for men, they just have to cover from navel to mid thigh . . . but women have to be covered a lot more . . . the rules of Islam for men are more minor.

—another thing, Pak Karl, in Minangkabau, if women, we women, do something malu like committing adultery, it's talked about for several generations. But for the man, it's soon over, maybe there's no problem, but for the girl, her family, her children, and her grandchildren are continuously talked about—It destroys her dignity and prestige, but nothing is said about the man, but the woman is talked about for seven generations, 'So and so did this,' until the great grandchildren.

—in fact, if a Minangkabau wants to find a son-in-law or a daughter-in-law, we have a son, we want to find a wife for him, the girl has to be investigated about her ancestry, about her family, her grandparents, all the way back." 80

Among other restrictions, men wear just a sarong for the five daily prayers, women have to wear more; women have to sit with their legs folded to one side, men can sit cross-legged; women can't smoke, can't play billiards, can't run in public, can't climb trees, can't weep in public, can't go out at night alone, can't fight in the streets, and should cover their palms and faces.

Talking about the women's malu again, the first women's focus group said,

"Women have malu, for example: 'a hand above is better than a hand below,' " And they explained: 'with a hand below' we receive something, or ask for something

—it's called asking for, we are given something.

—But a hand above, we often give something, give help, that's called 'hand above.'

—In other words, hand above is like pouring from a kettle.

—Do you know the kettle? It's a teapot, cerek . . . If a person wants to drink, she is given it in a cup, that's called a cerek . . . So the

expression of a person with a hand above, it's the same as a person who likes to serve others.

—She mencerek [turning cerek into a verb].

—That's called cerek. 81

Malu: A Sense of Inferiority

At the top of a long stairway leading to the upper market in Bukittinggi men spread out cloths and display their wares for sale. Some deal with cheap ring stones, others in books. One day, as I was working over this problem of malu, I spotted a book with the astonishing title "Overcoming the Emotion of Malu" (*Mengatasi Rasa Malu*) by Reihan Nufandi. This is in the Indonesian genre of pop psychology self-help books. I took it to the focus groups who were of course not astonished at all.

In this sense, malu can be like shyness:

"There's a saying, Pak Karl: 'malu to ask, lost on the way.' If we go to a village, if we don't know the directions, if we are malu to ask, we get lost. That's about traveling. And about knowledge. We have to ask." And, in a slightly different sense, *"This malu can result from too little belief in oneself."* 82

The other women's focus group explains the book's title:

"It means that there can be a feeling of inferiority, emse

—that's not malu as we talked about before. For example, someone is going to talk in front of an audience, give a public speech. As he begins to speak he is nervous

—aha! In order to overcome malu he may fiddle with a ballpoint pen…Maybe he meets someone, he feels inferior, emse, minder." 83

The influence of popular psychology is clear. Rendah diri, to feel inferior, is also "MC," or "minder," both from the Dutch "minder complex," or inferiority complex. And there seems to be some gender difference here. Both of the women's focus groups talked easily about this "feeling-of-inferiority" malu. One men's focus group did give the example of malu when giving a public speech. But the other men's group brushed off the idea of malu as inferiority saying that the book was published in Java for Javanese, and was not meant for Minangkabau.

Malu's Neighbors

The mapping approach in the 1980s phase of this research did not reveal the presence of a specific cluster of emotion words with malu

as its prototype. However, it did indicate which words were especially close to malu, and these we shall examine next.

Segan:
Segan (sagan:m) is a good starting point, for in both of the Minangkabau maps, malu and segan are closer to each other than either is to any other word. So we can look at the Minangkabau scenarios for segan and compare them with those for malu (Heider 1991a:306–309).

In the antecedents of segan, elicited in three different contexts, doing wrong is a very minor factor. Most of the responses are the result of interaction with another, sometimes a helpful other, more often in some way problematic—a stranger, for example ("...when ego is put at a disadvantage by another who is a stranger, is superior, had aided ego, or when ego did wrong." Heider 1991a:308). In the two situations dealing with sagan, the concept in Minangkabau, sagan is most often caused by another emotion—these other emotions, in what I have called a way-station situation, are varied, but have to do mainly with status differences. The outcomes of segan are almost evenly split between withdrawal or avoidance, and some sort of positive action.

So, while malu seems to fit nicely into the general shame/guilt area, segan seems to be closer to respect. But how? "In practice, it includes menyegani, menghormati, memuliakan, mengasihi—itu dasarnya malu juga—segan, respect, honoring, nurturing—basically it's malu also." There are connections that are not evident in the English equivalents.

But the scenario approach does not clearly reveal just how multivalent segan actually is. From the interview data we see that like malu, it is used in several senses that range from something close to shame to something close to respect:

1. when a child commits a public transgression;
2. when one makes a public but unintentional slip;
3. when one is publicaly acclaimed;
4. one has respect for very close friends and relatives.

And we have examples of each of these senses:

1. Segan: When a child commits a public transgression
Pak A said, *"As for segan, that's just minor...segan, that's unintentional, like malu but minor...at most, one would be shunned,*

perhaps only briefly. Segan: damage something and the uncle would admonish, 'Don't do that again.' For example, a youth who had been citified comes home to the village, brings hard liquor, drinks in the village, and gets drunk. At his parents' house he gets drunk. That's segan. Then his uncle is summoned by the headman. 'Please pay attention to your nephew.' That's called segan"

"Or, he goes to the city and then apparently has a lover in the city. He brings the lover to his mother's house. They aren't yet married or anything. He doesn't even sleep in the same room. Just brings her home. Just one day, one night. The uncle knows about it. That's segan—not allowed. If she had been his wife, that would be allowed. But if it's just his lover, brought to his parents, we are segan…That emotion of segan, if it develops further it becomes malu. For example, our daughter: in the evening she goes out for a walk and comes home at nine P.M.*—I am segan. I am segan. Wah!"* 84

2. Segan: When one makes a public but unintentional slip.
Pak A recalled: *"Once the vice president—Pak Sudarmono—gave a speech here. He walked down from the platform and apparently there was a floral display set in little white stones on the tile floor. He stubbed his toe and fell. In front of some two thousand people—fell, pow! Because it was slippery. He had given a rousing speech. That was segan. People talked about it, waduh! We felt sorry for him."* I asked about his bodily reactions. *"Yes—he had a red face. But because of the physical condition—the physical conditions were primed for it, it wasn't intentional."* 85

3. Segan: When one is publically acclaimed.
At home or at schools, when children hesitated to recite, the parent or teacher often said "jangan malu," don't be malu, and might apologize to me saying that the child was malu. I asked Pak A about a similar situation, when a student was reluctant to stand up and receive an award. *"That's an example—red-faced* [in English]*—it's called segan also. In a positive sense. The same when we meet a close friend, we cry because we are very nostalgic…for happiness. Not tears of sadness or hate."*

I asked if there were different names for these emotions. Pak A said, *"What is the cause? If the cause is bad, that's negative segan, but if the cause is good, that's positive segan."* And he continued *"In Indonesian we say 'malu' also, but 'malu-malu kucing'* [cat malu]*—He is malu, but he really wants to do it."* 86

4. Segan: Respect for close friends and relations.

Pak B had been talking about malu, and then said, "*There's also the word segan…an example: my child marries Pak Karl's child. So we are closely related. For Minangkabau the marriage is not just about the children, but the parents take part also, it creates close relations. I am family with Pak Karl. Thus Pak Karl and I—that's segan. What's it called—to talk with you, I have to be very careful. It's segan for both of us…I say, 'Pak Karl should drop by, we'll eat lunch.' That's segan. There are lots of examples.*" I ask if it means malu. "*Not malu, segan. Someone for whom we feel segan—segan can also mean, yes, respect. Real respect…Because we have united our families, there's more respect. That's called segan.*" 87

Takut—"Fear, Shame"

Takut from the 1980s Research

In addition to malu and segan, takut is another key to the "missing-shame" puzzle, namely, why do Minangkabau have such a sparse vocabulary for such an apparently important concept? As we have seen in the previous section, the closest translation equivalent in Indonesian and Minangkabau for shame is malu, but on either map it seems insignificant, having no great cluster of close synonyms as, for example, the "anger" area does. And shame is certainly important to Minangkabau. The data presented here reenforce an ethnographic picture of villagers deeply concerned, even worried, about how their neighbors judge them.

As it happens, the first-stage-questionnaire data showed convincingly that takut/takuik, the words whose apparent closest translation equivalent is fear, actually have a second meaning close to guilt/shame (1991a:211–214). In this instance, the questionnaire approach worked well to disclose the dual meanings that were certainly not obvious from the English emotion words. I had said,

> In short, there seems to be evidence from several parts of the western Pacific region for a close association of "fear" and "shame" that is not immediately familiar from English and, indeed, is somewhat counter-intuitive for English speakers. The Minangkabau data, which are the most extensive and systematic, give a complex picture: There is one word (takut) that denotes both "fear" and "shame," but several other words that refer to one or the other. (1991a:213)

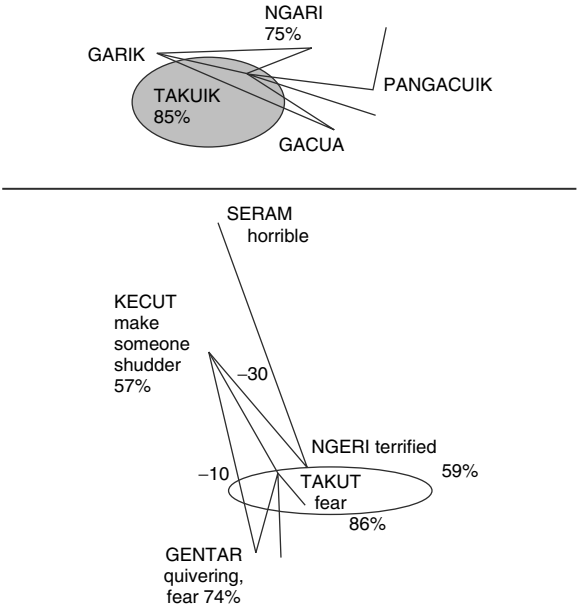


Figure 5.3 Takut—"fear, shame".
Source: 14.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

From the New (2000–2001) Research

Pak A said, *"One takut comes from danger, danger to self, danger to family, danger to the village. And takut can also arise from belief, there can be a certain payback from the society if you do—or violate a rule…because you feel sinful before God. That's a takut person. A feeling of takut arises because of an accusation! Because there is an accusation of not following the rules, that's takut. Takut because of a sin against adat rules, so you are shunned or banished, judged by adat rules, takut."* 88

Pak B also began by describing the shame takut: *"First, it is because we have done something wrong, or because we can't face something. That's takut…Then there is another cause."* A tiger, I ask? *"Yes, that's also takut—different—that takut arises because we aren't strong enough to face a tiger. The tiger is clearly a threat. It can prey on us. But we can't fight it, there's danger."* 89

Pak C linked this takut even more strongly to malu, emphasizing the damage that a misdeed does to the person's social unit, the

clan: *"A Minangkabau is takut* [afraid] *with the result that he is malu for what he did."* Why is he takut? *"Because he knows that his clan or his family will be affected by the malu also. But if he is abroad, alone, he often does something like that because no one knows. But if someone knows, he is takut. So, if a Minangkabau wants to become a pickpocket! But if he is with other Minangkabau, he is takut to pick pockets. He will rob or pick pockets because of money problems abroad."* Who is the pickpocket? *"The Minangkabau."* Here? *"Here he doesn't want to, he's takut, malu, because he's bound by the clan feelings, and it would blemish the name of his clan."* 90

And Pak B said, *"Takut is caused probably when we do something wrong toward another… We feel that we have done something wrong. 'takut, because of sin, bold because of righteousness,' that's a saying."* 91 And only much later did Pak B get to the other meaning of takut, the reaction to danger. When I asked the focus groups about takut, each of the four groups brought up the wrongdoing—"shame" sense—first and only afterwards the danger—"fear" sense. This strongly suggests that for Minangkabau, the "shame" sense of takut is the more salient, and that the "fear" sense, which we have generally considered to be a universal emotion, is actually a secondary sense.

Pak A summed up a major difference between takut and malu: *"Malu lasts… but takut is close to the event. When it's over, takut disappears."* 92

Among the few examples of figurative speech relating to takut in appendix, some refer to fear of physical danger while others refer to the fear of being found out.

Neighbors of Takut

In order to explore the takut cluster, in the solo interviews I asked about the other terms, trying to elicit more nuanced meanings. The responses were suggestive, but unfortunately I did not follow up with the four focus groups.

Ngeri:
Pak A, using the analogy of a ladder, explained *ngeri*, "horrified," as a way station to takut: *"We are ngeri, a little later we are already takut. After ngeri, if the situation continues, we are takut. So ngeri is sort of like a ladder rung, the first rung to get to takut. It begins*

with ngeri. There's the emotion of ngeri, the face changes, it gets pale for example, and he shakes." 93

Pak B said, *"Ngeri, usually when one sees something out of the ordinary, for example, a car crash, with lots of people dead, and we see someone's smashed head… Ngeri, we can't stand to see it… It's bad."* 94

Kecut:

Pak A said, *"Kecut, it's a person who is not brave enough to fight. It's like a coward… It's a person whose blood is cold, probably fears everything… He sees the professor, 'Wah! A tall Westerner!' Afraid, or a coward… Because he is retarded, has low self-respect, probably has some physical defect or something. Or he is an 'idiot'* [in English]. *Or he just doesn't know much, didn't get much education at all."* 95

Pak B said that *"kecut is the same as takut but with kecut the danger is not yet visible, it doesn't yet threaten us, but we know the danger."* 96

Gentar:

Pak A said, *"Gentar is almost the same as the others… Gentar is more caused by some major event, an earthquake or a volcanic eruption. Wah! Gumayo! In Minangkabau it's called gumayo. Ganta, or gumayo. People can't do anything… Wah! Run this way, run that way, take this, take that, sometimes they save an old piece of cloth and leave their child! The important thing is left, and they save a pillow! Because of gentar. 'Panik'* [in English]. *For example, in the old stories a Garuda comes out of the sky—a huge bird, wah! People gentar… or a crazy water buffalo… Long ago people had lots of water buffalo, 30, 40, running free… a few of these water buffalo were entered by Satan… Or, also, if a really important person comes to a village—for example, a rajah, without any notice, enters a village, wah! People are gentar."* 97

Cemas:

Pak A's examples suggest that *cemas* is used as much for apprehensive fear of possible future events as for worry about what has happened: *"It's caused by something that has happened—for example, we are cemas because our child hasn't graduated. She is cemas her husband is marrying again, she has a strong suspicion. Cemas that his business will fail… If our child doesn't study he must be forced to study so that we don't have to worry that he won't pass. Or, he*

is stupid or doesn't get promoted to the next class. Or she is worried that her husband will marry again, to a maid or something. His relatives will work on him, speaking frankly to him." 98

Kuatir:
Pak A said, *"Kuatir is tied to religion…From the Arabic. It means the same as cemas. Because of our carelessness, for example, our thing, our water buffalo, wasn't put into the stall, just tied up in front and later a car hit it. It is lost. Or we buy something of low quality…we kuatir that it won't sell, or if it sells, it's at such a low price that there's no profit."* 99

Pak B emphasized the future aspect: *"Kuatir—that's for something that hasn't yet happened. Something that we imagine may happen. That's kuatir—similar to cemas. Kuatir—I kuatir that my son can have an accident on his trip."* 100

Tersinggung—"Offended"

Tersinggung from the 1980s Research

In the maps produced in the first stage of this research, there was a small cluster of words (Heider 1991a:178) that seemed particularly confusing. Their dictionary definitions were vague and the scenarios offered by the respondents were not especially helpful. Yet, the words were given relatively high prototype ratings. I concluded that "this cluster does indeed need to be considered carefully as emotion." (Heider 1991a:179). As we shall see here, it took this second-stage approach of multiple extended interviews to reveal the importance of the cluster.

From the New (2000–2001) Research

Tersinggung (tasingguang:m) is the key word in these Indonesian and Minangkabau clusters produced by the Minangkabau informants. When I complained to the first men's focus group that the dictionaries were not clear about tersinggung, they agreed:

"For sure, they aren't clear enough. There are two sorts of tersinggung: a physical tersinggung and an emotional tersinggung."

And then they quoted a saying that repeatedly emerged when I asked anyone about tersinggung (actually the only example of figurative speech referring to tersinggung in appendix). People gave me

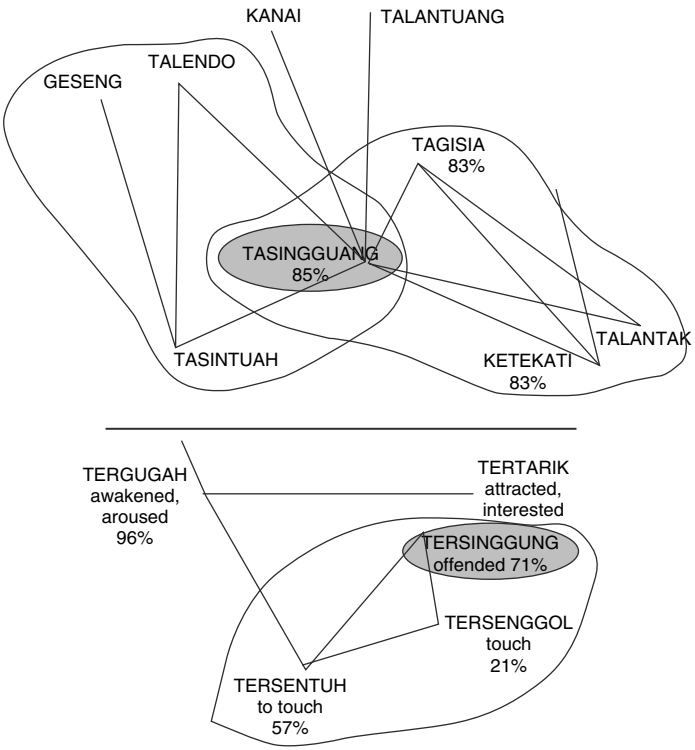


Figure 5.4 Tersinggung—"offended" above: Minangkabau, below "Indonesian."

Source: Diagrams 7.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

the saying in various combinations of Minangkabau and Indonesian: *"You bump into people climbing up, you crash into them climbing down."* And they further explained:

> *That is the physical tersinggung, tersinggung while you are climbing up…But the emotional tersinggung is different…For example, in Minangkabau, if the mother-in-law talks to their child about a problem with a cat, while the husband has no way of making a living, "wah! This cat just sleeps around the house," says the mother-in-law, "it should look for food outside." That's a verbal tersinggung, where the cat serves as an example. That's tersinggung by refined indirection…emotional tersinggung…The physical tersinggung comes, for example, where a path is too narrow, that's possible. The tersinggung with words touches the emotions.* 101

The image of climbing up or down refers to entering or leaving a traditional house on stilts via the stairs or the ladder. This is a physical sort of tersinggung (they all use the English word "fisik," and Pak A also uses the English word "visual" here). It is also an unintentional bumping, with no serious consequences if one apologizes in a timely manner. It is tempting to read a metaphorical meaning relating to social class into this image of climbing and descending, but this interpretation was not voiced in any of our discussions. Even though Minangkabau is simultaneously egalitarian and status conscious, I am reluctant to claim too much here.

The second, or emotional meaning explains tersinggung as the result of an insult, more usually intentional, and usually verbal. Here also is an often-quoted saying: "nan sakik kato, nan malu tampak:m," "words hurt, shame shows." The first part is operative, declaring that words are powerful and can wound people. This serves as justification for retaliation that causes another to be publicaly shamed.

Pak A dwelt particularly on the implications of attacking someone's family and descent:

> *The insulting, what hurts, is attacks on inheritance…a person in a group, in a village…"he's not descended from a datuk* [traditional leader], *not descended from a kiyai* [religious leaders], *not descended from a sutan* [a traditional title]," *he is insulted publicaly, that hurts, that's called tersinggung. Then about hereditary diseases, there's hereditary mental illness, for example, or a disease like palasik—that's like a vampire—it likes to suck blood. Dracula went for grown-ups, adults, and everyone who was bitten became a Dracula. That's not true of palasik. They just go for little children—when they cry at night, that's called a palasik attack…Then, in reference to the sources of a person's wealth—now they are rich, but originally their grandfather was a robber, their ancestors were rapists…Then, they are talked about as strangers—as "nephews below the knee." Those nephews—if a datuk has dependents, they speak of "nephews below the chin," "nephews below the navel," and "nephews below the knee." If below the chin, they are true nephews, very close. Those below the navel are from a different matriline. But those below the knee, they are strangers, newcomers. They may be of the same clan, but they come from another village, another place. For example, from Java or Batak, but they are Muslim…They are called "nephews below the knee." But there are strict limits: a nephew below the chin can inherit a hereditary title. But a nephew below the navel or below the knee, they can't. It's just not possible. Say I am a datuk, say I die. I will be replaced by a nephew below the chin. Thus if a*

person says "nephews below the knee, they are all sorts of strangers" people feel tersinggung.

Or, someone insults another datuk. Wah! That's possible! The people of that datuk come and completely insult him in turn. They destroy his title. There are ways. They carry an empty cerana to his village. A cerana is a tray for all the ingredients for chewing betel. [The betel mixture is chewed for recreation but also it is presented ceremonially in this cerana to greet important visitors, to announce weddings, and such. In this example, the ritual is being parodied for its insult value.] *But here the cerana is empty—nothing is in it. Usually there is the betel mix, there is the pitch, there is the lime paste, but here it is empty! It's covered with a dalamok* [an embroidered cloth] *but it's empty. Then, one of the man's pants legs is rolled up. The man who is attacking the title. He runs around the middle of the village. He asks, "What's this? Look at this!"…He runs around…, with his left pants leg rolled up. And he carries the cerana in his left hand. He runs from village to village, to the village of the datuk. Not to the house of the datuk's wife, to the house of his mother. He uses insulting language. Even though the datuk is not at home, the villagers know, "The datuk is a monkey! The datuk is a goat, the datuk has no manners!"* 102

Although Pak A relates in great detail these traditional retributions, he also takes care to explain that Islam disapproves of them: *"It's not necessary anymore to differentiate between 'below the chin,' 'below the navel,' and 'below the knee.' But these were from times past when people did make such distinctions. Today, if that sort of thing is said, people are tersinggung. They get tersinggung, more so after Islam came in. Islam doesn't differentiate. Islam says that everyone in the world, we are all newcomers…we are migrants here, our village is not here—our village will be in the hereafter."* 103

People mentioned other ways of offending, not all of which involved speech. Pak B gives an example: *"Pak Karl comes to me with good intentions. He wants to interview me, he wants a lecture…I welcome Pak Karl, but not with a pure expression. I am jealous, I am sour…Pak Karl's heart is tersinggung, he feels tersinggung."* 104

The first women's group spoke of gossip:

"People should talk directly to us, but they talk to others. Mrs. A is not happy with me, and she doesn't speak directly to me, she speaks with Mrs. B, and I feel tersinggung. She isn't being honest, so in fact it's improper and this creates my emotion of tersinggung. It means that I am not feeling good about Mrs. A." 105

The second women's group added,

"*For example, a poor person who hadn't eaten for a day, suddenly there came a person giving help. She was tersinggung, she didn't want to accept that help. That's called tersinggung.*" 106

People described ways to avoid offense. These mainly came down to being circumspect. Speaking with very polite indirection (the "sloping way," Jalan Melering—see above, p. 96). The second men's group explained, "*To restrain people, Minangkabau say be careful,*

When looking, guard the eyes,
When hearing, guard the ears,
When speaking, guard the lips,
When walking, guard the feet.
So that there is never an offense." 107

The first men's focus group explained that to counteract the tersinggung, one has to ask forgiveness:

"*In a public situation, with lots of people, we proclaim the expression, "you bump into people climbing up, you crash into them climbing down."*

—*Excuse me.*

—*It's a polite phrase, it's cooler, to please people.*"

You use those words?

"*Yes, at the end, generally at the end.*

—*So, if there is, or isn't tersinggung said something wrong, he asks forgiveness even if there was no wrong, we just ask forgiveness.*

—*That shows a fine character.*

—*There's a pantun:*

If the needle is broken
Don't keep it in the case.
If there is a hurtful word
Don't store it in your heart." 108

Village life, with everyone at such close quarters with everyone else, puts strains on relationships, and these discussions of tersinggung described ways of giving offense and ways of avoiding offense. We have already seen how the indirect allusive melereng speech mode is prescribed for particularly close and therefore dangerous in-law relationships. But even in village life at times one is called on to insult another. What is most striking here is the detailed account of how younger men go about insulting a datuk.

Marah—"Anger"

Marah from the 1980s Research

The first stage of this research revealed a great proliferation of terms in the "anger" area. Although in the Minangkabau-language map there was only one cluster that centered around the words berang and bangih, but in the Indonesian map there were four clusters plus a closely related fifth cluster (1991a:80, 252–264):

> Cluster 22. "Anger" cluster (naik darah)
> Cluster 23. "Anger/Cruel" cluster (bengis)
> Cluster 24. "Anger/Dislike" cluster (gemas)
> Cluster 25. "Anger/Trembling" cluster (gemetar)
> and Cluster 26. "Cruel" cluster (kejam)

On the other hand, marah, the obvious common Indonesian word for anger, showed a relatively low prototypicality score (65 percent), suggesting that many of my respondents did not consider it to be a perasaan, an emotion word. The other "anger" words had comparably low measures of emotionality. Yet the scenarios for three "anger" words sounded remarkably like American-English scenarios for anger in that the outcomes were physical violence and verbal abuse. I commented that

In their actual behavior, Indonesians, even the relatively open Minangkabau, mask most

> anger, and the open expression of anger is strongly disapproved of and negatively sanctioned. But in this verbal task of constructing scenarios, the Minangkabau do not reflect the real pattern of emotion management. (1991a:80)

By this I mean to contrast the strong descriptions of overt anger in the questionnaire responses with actual Minangkabau behavior, which strongly masks anger.

From the New (2000–2001) Research

The interview approach of this second stage of research seemed to promise an effective way to explore the high complexity of the clusters, the low prototypicality of the words, and the unreal scenarios of the "anger" clusters. Instead, people had their own interests. Just as we have seen in the discussions of malu and sombong,

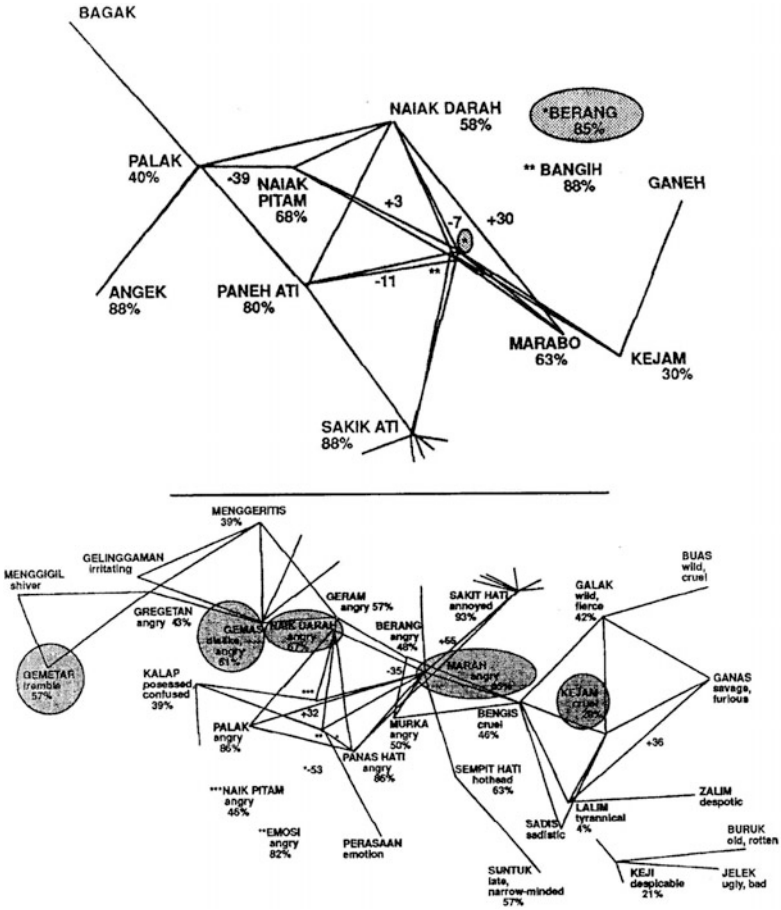


Figure 5.5 Marah—"anger"—above: Minangkabau, below: Indonesian.
Source: Diagrams 22.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

where people talked much about the sanctions of shunning and exile, so discussing "anger" seems now to trigger talk of how to read the actual anger emotions behind the pleasant masks that Minangkabau assume. And these discussions also led to further outcomes of anger.

At one point I mentioned that on my next visit I wanted to discuss marah. When I arrived for the first session on marah, Pak A greeted me with the following scheme on his blackboard. The words are in Minangkabau, and I have added the English:

Table 5.2 Pak A's scheme of the short- and long-term outcomes of three Minangkabau "anger" words.

	Tindakan sementara (immediate reaction)	*Tindakan lanjut (long-term reaction)*
Bangih	maranyuak ("pout")	bacakak diam-diam (pinch surreptitiously)
Marah	baganyi (leave wife for mother)	mambaka (burn down house)
Berang	Mamanggok (leave wife for mother)	manubo (poison)
	barangak (neighborhood quarrel)	mamakuak (hamstring animal)
	dandam (rancor, grudge)	Mambunuah (murder)

Pak A launched into a long discussion of the scheme, saying,

> *Dandam—to hold a grudge—that's a particular behavior, like "fire in the husks." It can't be seen from the outside. As for arguing, going home to the mother, running away, pouting, maranyuak—for example, when one is told to eat something that one doesn't want, told to drink something that one doesn't want…that's pouting. That's common. As for baganyi, that's leaving the house, not sleeping at home…baganyi, that's usually going home to the house of one's mother…and baganyi in Minangkabau culture, may in fact be required…Maybe I go to my mother's house, to my nephews and nieces, and sleep there. That's baganyi and is required by Minangkabau custom because there are things that must be done there. Namely, to teach them, to give them knowledge*
>
> *Mamanggok, that's almost the same as baganyi, but mamanggok is a problem without a principle. The problem is not one between a man and his wife—it's a problem with the in-laws, with third persons. A man goes mamanggok. It begins like the previous problem…perhaps he keeps birds, that's his hobby, birds…and one day he doesn't come home, and they aren't given water, even his wife doesn't feed them. Because of that he does mamanggok.*
>
> *As for barangak, that's talk…say there are houses, here, here,—people stand around talking, arguing, it's perang mulut* [war of the mouth]*—that's usually within one village, even within one clan…in this arguing they use allusive speech to insult, to ridicule…*
>
> *Then here's dandam* [holding a grudge]. *This arises from bangih and berang…this dandam is long lasting. If it's not resolved, it's a danger for generations…dandam is not visible…and later it leads to arson and poisoning. For example, poison is given in a glass,*

to drink, and the person is unaware. Or in food. Poison is given because of the grudge… Really, that's consorting with Satan, with devils… There are lots of poisons. Some take two or three days before they work. Fevers, lots of things. There's no cure, just death.

…and mamakuak, mambunuah, bacakak—that's known, that's in the open. Mamakuak, that's hamstringing, cutting the legs of animals—can also be of people. 114

There are several aspects of Pak A's comments that are worth thinking about. Earlier, we had seen peoples' concern with the management by others of malu ("shame"). These were the various social sanctions that would be applied to members of the community who felt malu because their transgressions had been publicized. Now the emotion anger is treated as a way-station emotion, one that results in a grudge (dendam), and we are told about other further actions of the angry person. Even though anger might be considered a more socially disruptive emotion than shame, less attention is paid to the management or control of anger by others.

Pak A begins his first discussion not with the antecedents, or causes of anger but with anger—with different angers—and then moves on to the next acts in the scenarios. And although our discussions were mainly in Indonesian, this entire scheme is presented with Minangkabau words. It is also located firmly in traditional Minangkabau culture. For example, there are two words for an angry or disgruntled man who leaves his wife's house and returns to that of his mother and clan. One of the practices of Minangkabau, as a matrilineal culture, is that houses, rice fields, and heirlooms are the property of the women of the matriclan (held corporately by the women of the local-lineage segment). A man would be expected to work during the day in the fields of his matriclan—that is, of his mother, her sisters, and his sisters—and then spend the night in his wife's clan's house where he was only a "visiting husband." There must have been much opportunity for friction in such living arrangements, and it is easy to imagine many men having long-lasting low levels of anger in their dealings with their in-laws. As Pak A describes baganyi and mamanggok, they are similar patterns in which the visiting husband moves back to the house of his clan of origin but is able to frame that move as part of the customary obligations of a Minangkabau man. He must tend to his nieces and nephews, for he has many of the same duties that a father would have in a patrilineal society. And so, in the name of Minangkabau adat, he makes a move to reduce the anger without saying or doing the unforgivable.

It seems likely that this entire scheme as presented by Pak A refers to a past idealized Minangkabau village culture. Poisoning people, hamstringing animals, and village arson are part of the remembered or imagined past but as far as I know, are not common among Minangkabau today.

At our next session, Pak A again elaborated on anger. I had asked him about anger, what causes it? Does it have to be some violation of a rule? He said,

Yes. Last time we talked about levels—there is a level of ordinary anger, there is marah where no ma'af [apology] *was said. Generally, when there is ordinary marah, within the group, there are words, insults, inconsequential, unimportant, like we said before—the words that hurt. For example, belittling, insulting, about one's ancestors, about one's wealth, that one's wife isn't smart, or his wife goes out visiting, or at a ceremony, where there was lots to eat, she talked with people. That's anger, ordinary anger. If it is met with a ma'af, it's over. It can be wiped out. But if it is something like—a problem of insulting, like cutting down a datuk* [leader]*—throwing down a datuk from his position—ah!—that can't be excused. The response means revenge, he pulls down the datuk. For sure. If it is a great insult—known publicaly—or an insult. Mr. A has a younger sibling, a sister. There is a man who wants to marry the sister. Then someone else slanders—"Oh, the sister isn't a virgin any more—this happened, that happened." In the end it doesn't work out. He knows. That's slander, ha! There's anger. Someone has to do something. Something like we talked about before—on account of the anger, they can burn something down, can slash livestock, can poison someone, yes? Thus, that anger, generally, it really hurts the person and their standing. That is the peak of anger.*

If it is a matter of goods, a debt of any kind not yet repaid, that's anger also—ordinary anger. Then, when it's been repaid, it's finished. There is an ordinary promise, that's different in different places. Like in Bugis—Ujung Panjang [on the island of Sulawesi]*—there, if the debt isn't paid, they'll kill with knives, and in Madura* [an island near Java] *it's the same. But here, hopefully, if it's a question of debt, if it hasn't been paid promptly, it can be paid later. But if it's a matter of insult, of rape, of destroying prestige—wah!—then you can't just apologize. For some things, you can go to court. But when it involves the honor of the family, I am firm. There are those things I mentioned last time—arson, slashing—what can be seen. But the most harsh revenge when angry is what can't be seen. Like with magic. With spells, with poison—the silent things… That poison—if it is eaten sometimes it takes a month or two. If it's not*

intentional, one can just apologize, there's no anger. If it involves a datuk, then there is a feast, but one has to promise not to repeat the offense—a second time, that's not unintentional. 115

The word marah is used alone for the rasa, the emotion of marah. It is also used as a root, for example, "pemarah" for a person who is customarily angry. In that sense, then, marah is more of an attribute (sifat) than an emotion (rasa). That seems to be the explanation for the low emotionality rating that marah got in the first stage of this research. The simple way in which I posed the question on my questionnaires did not allow for explanations that marah is ambiguous and can be either an emotion or an attribute. Interestingly, this ambiguity did not seem to arise with other emotion terms. The Echols and Shadily dictionary does offer pemalu as "tending to be shy, timid," but that form was not used by my informants. And although the pe- prefix commonly personalizes words it is not a particularly productive form and is rarely used with an emotion word. (In English, of course, the form "he/she is a happy/sad/loving person" is quite common.)

"A Tiger in the Stomach, a Goat Comes Out of the Mouth" (Harimau Didalam Paruik, Kambiang Juo Nan Kalau)

This is an often-cited key saying about Minangkabau masking of emotion: although one feels anger, one masks the anger with sweet words (goats speak sweetly). One men's group explained:

"In the Minangkabau language, although there is 'a tiger in the stomach, a goat comes out,' although one may be very angry, because one is prudent and respected, one does not want to seem angry, so the anger takes an acceptable form. One is justifiably angry but because one is smart, he doesn't show it.

—For example , I may be angry with Pak Karl, but it's better that I express something else."

This is a sort of management? I ask.

"You can make someone realize it. It comes back to 'tiger in the stomach, goat comes out,' it comes back to tradition, and problems of custom. It is a way of living in a social group, especially Minangkabau. Minangkabau people have to behave that way to control anger.

—From when they are small, Minangkabau are trained never to express anger directly in words, from childhood they are taught that

if they are angry, even if people know, but utterances don't cause insult. So it is handed down, it is taught from childhood as a normal thing for Minangkabau, when they are angry not to directly show their anger. As for Batak people [the Batak live in Sumatra just to the North of the Minangkabau] *for example, when they are angry they show it!"* 116

The other men's group commented on the tiger and the goat:

"A person who can restrain anger is one with a good personality. Even though the anger [here it is "emosi"] *boils over, he's like a diplomat."*

I ask what happens if the tiger gets out?

"Hah

—if the tiger erupts into the open, overcoming him, his higher education can control it. Sometimes it is better to let it out than to just burn inside. That means he is considered to be very wise."

I ask if there are situations when it's better to let the tiger out?

"For common people it means that they can't control themselves. What do people say: if it's a goat, it's not a wild animal, goats can't eat meat, goats are not dangerous. But tigers can pounce and kill, goats can't. While tigers are inside and goats come out, the tigers are hidden and the goats are not dangerous. Thus, heat inside and gentleness comes out. So those words are an appeal to a person: even though the tiger is inside, let the goat come out. It's sort of an appeal. The words of a diplomat. A person who can become a diplomat is one who can control himself." 117

I use the tiger image to push men on the possibility of it ever being good to let the tiger out. They say, *"There are people who like to be straightforward. If one is offended, he speaks plainly. That means he can't control himself…'open the skin, see what's inside'* [this saying is fairly opaque—Moussay 1995:200 says it means to speak directly]*…an honest man is the skin, and it's opened up. Well, it all depends, but in Minangkabau social life something like that is not acceptable."*

I keep pushing, saying, you don't want to tiger to get out?

"But Minangkabau people don't let it out the way it happens in Jakarta."

I ask if Minangkabau change when they go to Jakarta.

"They may change. But then they aren't thought to be from Minangkabau

—people think they are perhaps from Medan [i.e., Batak, in North Sumatra] *or Palembang* [South Sumatra]." 118

When he was speaking about Indonesian leaders who did or did not mask their anger, Pak A referred to the tiger and goat image, and then quoted a pantun with a similar theme:

Anak sinyamuk dalam padi	The little mosquito in the rice
Cukuo didalam pabasaran	Vinegar in the lotion
Walau baramuak didalam hati	Even if there is raging in the heart
Dimuko usah kaliatan.	It mustn't be seen on the face.

The Physical Manifestations of Anger

Despite the cultural emphasis on masking anger, people seem very aware of the physical signs of anger. One woman's focus group listed the symptoms as,

"hot, not quiet, short-winded, quivering voice, trembling, high blood pressure, fast heartbeat, symptoms of hypertensions, muscle cramps, stiffness."

A men's group listed,

"Hot, eyes red and wide."

The other women's group said,

" Hot, red face, eyes staring,"

and the other men's group said,

"Red face, trembling, also pale face if extremely angry —that depends on one's health but usually a healthy person has a red face…tense, cramping."

When I asked Pak A about the angry body, he said, *"Here it's called 'palak-palak miang'* ['warmth as if stung by nettles']*…the body is warm, the face is red, one sweats a little…So its—small-plant hair, on a bamboo stem, there's a sheath, and it has hair that cause itching. Very fine, sticky, those hair. Very fine—if they stick to the hands, the skin, it itches. Thus, palak-palak miang is sweating like itching. The body is irritated…, you see the muscles."* 119

The first men's focus group described nonverbal cues to anger:

"I'd like to expand, for Minangkabau, especially for anger, what is conveyed by the senses. With the eyes we can show anger with wide-open eyes, and for our children that means anger. With the ears also

—covering the ears when our children are noisy means anger. With the nose, when the child does something that makes a bad smell, holding the nose also means anger.

—I would add, by winking the eye a person warns someone that they are wrong, so just in time we wink, and he understands that the discussion should not be continued. That's called in Minangkabau 'kijokkan mato,' it comes from Minangkabau.

—With words, with figurative speech, we advise the children so the expression 'to get salt that's not salty, to get sugar that's not sweet' means that he has been warned lots of times but was not sensitive, he didn't act on it, so being instructed by the environment the child stubbornly ignores his parents advice." 120

And in addition to these general physical signs of anger, people mentioned the various kinds of smiles that mask anger, namely, the bitter smile (senyum pahit), the forced smile (senyum terpaksa), the sour smile (senyum kecut), the asymmetrical smile (senyum mering), and the pretend smile (senyum yang dibuat-buat) (see the discussion above, pp. 109–11).

Reading Anger

Although there is a detailed awareness of the overt signs of anger, still one is supposed to mask the anger. Is it possible to read anger even if it is masked? A men's group answered,

"a person who is wise and astute can read it

—can read what is truly within, can distinguish the mask."

How, I ask?

"It is based on education, intellect."

I ask if it is possible to know if a smile is not genuine.

"Yes, people can tell. If the body language of a person can be understood by an observer, even though the goat comes out, the mask can be seen…The happy smile is the genuine smile, it's a smile from the depths of the heart, truly from a pure condition, but there are also smiles that are not from the depths of the heart…It depends on the intellect,…in Minangkabau there is a saying that a smart person can judge. It is said that a clever and astute person 'tahu ereng jo gendeng:m' [literally, knows what is slanted and skewed], *he can judge the true and the false from the facial expressions . It is said, 'cewang di langik, raso ka paneh'* [literally, clouds in the sky, it feels warm].

—although from the facial expressions someone thinks he is happy, but the face when examined is not happy but sad." 121

And then another man in the group expands,

"cewang di langik tando ka paneh	cirrus clouds in the sky are a sign of heat
gabak di hulu tando ka hujan	cumulus clouds at the headwaters are a sign of rain
takilek ikan dalam lubuak lah	the fish flashes in the pond
tahu jantan batinyo"	tell the males from the females.

This is the standard Minangkabau/Malay pantun form. First, there are two lines about nature, followed by an allusive couplet. In this pantun the astute person can tell the gender of a fish in the water from just a glance. And, referring to anger by implication, that person could know, even if a goat came out of the mouth, that there was a tiger in the stomach. Later the same men's group said that to be able to judge that there was a tiger—anger—inside is the "sign of education or good religion."

For Pak A, reading others is straightforward: *"It can be read, It's very easy. We say, 'the eyes are the doors, the windows to the heart.' It can be seen in the eyes. The face can't lie. If we are annoyed or not, if we let the goat out but actually have a tiger inside, people know. And that goat, it's not a real goat. Sometimes that goat has fangs!"* 122

Anger, Male versus Female

A woman's group said,

"Usually an angry woman just shouts, but men act fast and furiously…as for women, they just use their mouths, never hit with their hands

—women express anger with trembling, infuriated annoyed trembling, but it's still able to be controlled, but if a father is angry at his child he often uses his hands…If women have excessive anger, they can menagir, that is do away with anger by weeping

—although it takes a long time for their anger to vanish."

And men, I ask?

"It goes away more quickly and they don't hold grudges. After they have hit the child it's over. Men almost never hold grudges because their anger comes and goes…a factor for women, they use

tears…the women's weapon is 'tears…makan hati' [literally, eat the liver]"

I ask, is that a saying?

"If someone makan hati, they don't eat real liver, not like cow liver

—to restrain the liver can also be called restraining anger, and often restraining anger is called 'eating the liver.'" 123

The second women's group agreed:

"If women are angry they can control it a bit but if men don't show their anger directly they bang on a table. If they are angry at a child they throw plates or pots and smash them, or if it's a boy they slap him

—furious, sadistic, annoyed, if it's a boy. But if it's a girl they control themselves a bit, maybe giving her a talking to." 124

A men's group said,

"Sometimes men are still like the tiger and the goat. But women

—some but not all, if they are offended and angry, they just chatter on…but men are embarrassed to talk much. They hit and punch. Women are more sadistic

—sometimes they just throw a knife without thinking."

I express surprise.

"Without considering things, without thinking. But it all depends on education

—religious education or general education. Sometimes when a woman is angry she weeps."

And men?

"If a man wept it would be disgraceful." 125

The second men's group agrees:

"As for women, it's mouths! They talk a lot, chatter about everything

—women chatter, others cry on account of anger…but there are also Minangkabau women who don't show their anger, like Bundo Kanduang…because these Bundo Kanduang types are on the same level as penghulu [traditional chiefs]…" 126

Generally, these focus groups agree that anger makes women talk and weep and hold on to their anger, while men explode, strike out, and get over it soon. But some men, and, rarely, women, can mask their anger. However, in these statements and others about gender differences, there is a noticeable lack of stock phrases. It seems as though there is not much of a consensus statement on such patterns, with the exception that women weep easily.

Islam and the Control of Anger

In a sense, Minangkabau culture with its emphasis on masking anger (the tiger and the goat image) is at odds with the Islamic condemnation of hypocrisy and lying. The Arabic word munafik is particularly strong. According to Federspiel (1995:173), "The term has been used in Islam, especially during the time of the Prophet Muhammad, to describe the persons who, while outwardly professing to accept Islam, have secretly denied the faith." But today it is used in various forms for a hypocrite. People were aware of a tension here, but they also tell how Islam provides ways to control anger.

When I asked about the tiger and the goat, Pak B said, "*That's how people can control anger.*" How? "*Here are ways you can control anger. First, you have to be calm. You have to face a problem—these are annoying, painful things, you have to be calm. Don't take direct action—calm down—that's best. As people say, 'swallow your saliva.' Saliva liquid. That's anger . . . That controls it. Controls it a bit. Then, even better, if you are Muslim like us—if we are Muslim and get angry, in order to avoid violence, we first go to a well or a tank for wudhu* [washing before prayer], *to wash the face. Hopefully that cools down the emotions.*" 127

When I asked how one could control anger, a women's focus group said,

"*If one is Muslim, you quickly wash for prayers, go pray our prayers, wash for the five daily prayers*

—that's the most effective medicine, 'the best medicine [in English],' *because Satan is at work, the left side is the work of Satan on the inner person.*"

I ask, is anger the left side?

"*Yes.*" 128

Pak A, explaining how one controls anger, said, "*Control, truly it's control through knowledge and faith. For people who are knowledgeable, educated, and believers—then anger won't occur. They remember God. They know that anger is a sin. Uncontrolled anger is a sin. It's a great sin, anger, not a minor sin.*" 129

When I asked the second men's focus group how to control anger, they said,

"*In a Muslim way you have to wash before praying, because in Islam anger is stimulated by Satan*

—but in the Islamic way before you wash you chant 'May God forgive me!' You ask God for forgiveness. At the moment you are stunned and want to hit someone, suddenly you are aware and you

say, 'May God forgive me!' and the anger goes down. There are two possible ways to reduce anger

—by yourself with the realization that you are angry, because being aware that you are angry means that you can control it, whether with ritual ablution or saying, 'May God forgive me,' or going away and meditating until you are calm. The second way to reduce anger is to involve other people."

How?

"Involve another person. For example, I am angry, there is another person whom I respect, to whom I feel close, he can calm me down and also reduce the anger, because as long as I am angry my thinking is blocked, I can't think clearly unless someone else steps in and calms me down." 130

Other "Anger" Words: Kesal, Jungkel, Bengis, Kejam, Benci

For the most part I focused these interviews on the prototype Indonesian "anger" word, marah, but I also did explore other words that, on the basis of the first-stage mapping project, were closely related to marah. This is a particularly rich-lexical area, and there is much disagreement among informants about the nuanced differences in meanings. There does seem to be a sequential link between kesal, "the younger brother of marah," and marah itself. Bengis, sadis ("sadistic"), and kejam are close to "cruel," and lalim is similar but is reserved for rulers or tyrants. I tried working from the antecedent event, asking if one could be marah when no one did anything to one, when there was no external agent. The first women's group had mixed opinions, saying:

"You can be marah when you are not satisfied with something

—you can be marah toward yourself."

For example?

"For example, you have to finish a job but you know it's not done the way you had hoped, then you can be marah at yourself

—that's kesal."

Then I posed the situation where I enter a house, hit my head on the door lintel because I am too tall,—am I marah, or what?

"Kesal, not marah."

But another woman said,

"You can be marah if the door is too low, we are marah if we bump our heads, marah toward ourselves." Another woman said, *"We get kesal, not marah, kesal. But if we are in an impatient mood*

it can be marah, marah about something that's said, or some words of our own." 131

But the other women's group had a different idea:

"*If it's your own fault, you are dongkol*

—marah at yourself because you didn't look out."

Can you be marah at yourself?

"You can. You can be emosi and murka, but its not possible to be bengis or sadis or kejam toward yourself."

Then another woman partly disagrees:

"Sadis is not possible, that results in something negative for oneself, you are hurt, it's certainly done by someone else, but bengis toward oneself, when you didn't look,—just open your eyes." 132

The first men's group said that you would be jengkel.

"If you got hit, you bumped your head, you are jengkel toward the situation, not toward a person. Marah has to have an object. But if you bump your head, you're not marah."

I ask what if the other person did something unintentionally.

"That's marah, but he can beg forgiveness." 133

The second men's group agreed:

It would be kesal because you weren't careful enough."

But not marah?

"Kesal, marah toward oneself."

Another man corrected him:

"But it's not marah, it's called kesal." 134

Both Pak A and Pak B said that if one bumped one's own head, one would feel kesal, not marah. These responses are not quite as different as they at first appear. The two men and two focus groups agree on kesal. And the first words offered by the other two focus groups were jengkel and dongkol, both of which show up in the mapping (1991a:267) as two of the closest words to kesal.

Later Pak A described kesal as a way station to anger. *"It precedes marah. Not yet marah. Kesal when continued becomes marah. When a person is kesal, you need to quickly beg pardon, so that he doesn't become marah. But if he is allowed to be kesal, his kesal builds up, and he becomes marah. He becomes truly angry… Little children also can become kesal. When they are annoyed, when they are teased. Because they are not loved… Then the kesal can explode, become marah, because it is not controlled. If their kesal grows it becomes marah. For sure."* 135

Pak B also described kesal as related to marah, using a kinship term: *"Kesal, because of a problem or a situation that's not consistent with our desires. Kesal. For example, I want to go, but my*

car stalls. I'm kesal. Kesal is the younger brother of marah. Before, you said that when you came in a door and hit your head you were marah. Actually, it's kesal. Toward someone we can be marah. Toward ourselves, kesal. Kesal toward a car. Kesal toward a door. But kesal also can be toward a person. I have a date with a friend, we plan to meet. We'll meet at the Bukittinggi Banto Market at such and such an hour. I wait there…three o'clock, he still hasn't come, I'm kesal…" The younger brother of marah, I ask? *"Yes, below marah, gentler than marah."* 136

Here I provided an antecedent (bumped one's own head) and asked for the appropriate emotion. Kesal and its close neighbors were the clear choices. But in the first stage of this research, when I had provided emotion words and asked for antecedents, the responses to kesal were quite varied (1991a:270–273). Personal failure was a relatively common antecedent, confirming this new data, but actually it was named less than the total of other-caused antecedents.

Hate (Benci) and Anger

In the mapping project of the first stage of this research in the 1980s, *benci*, "hate," was located in the "annoyance" cluster with sakit hati and kesal (1991a:266). But in this 2000–2001 stage, when I asked Pak A about benci and marah, he made a clear distinction:

> *As for marah, that's the result of behavior. But benci, that's more permanent. It's set firmly in the heart. As for anger, for example, one can be forgiven. If someone is marah, we ask for forgiveness and the anger is over. But if it comes to benci, we're no longer friends, no longer on speaking terms…Don't want to be together any more. That's benci…Or, if someone habitually uses the left hand with elders…to use the left hand, to greet elders with the left hand, they hate it…And it, benci, is always incited by Satan…Among Minangkabau this benci emerges because of magic. Like when a woman is married to a man but actually the woman already has a lover but was forced into an arranged marriage by her parents. Nah—the lover looks for a wise man, looks for a healer* [dukun]. *Medicine is given to the woman so that she hates her husband. The wife, she hates the man that she married. In fact often, she slowly comes to hate…And then sometimes the husband finds a dukun. Goes to a dukun and uses magic to do away with the hate. It's a war of dukun against dukun. That's very common. It happens very commonly in the villages.* 137

"An ordinary person can be sadis or kejam but a president can also be lalim…a leader, a raja, is lalim—a lalim raja must be opposed…For a teacher like me, if my pupil does something a little bit wrong and I beat him, they say that the teacher is ganas." 138

"Galak is never used for a human, but related to the word galak is a person who is like an animal, or a dog…lalim is an attribute of humans…but ganas and sadis usually are for ordinary people, like lalim is for a raja—so kejam, bengis, and sadis are for the people." 139

"Bengis for example—the behavior of children. We have just cleaned up the courtyard, swept it, and here come children, throwing flowers and trash—we are bengis when we see it." 140

Dendam (Kesumat)—"Hidden Enmity," "Holding a Grudge"

While the Indonesian word marah is very close to its English translation equivalent anger, this word dendam is more resistant to translation. It is often used in a phrase, "dendam kesumat," where dendam is originally from Sanskrit and kesumat is from Arabic. Even when dendam is used alone, the "kesumat," which means enmity, is understood. The prototype image of dendam is the traditional phrase "api dalam sekam," (fire in the husks). The phrase calls up a familiar sight throughout the Minangkabau territory: after rice is harvested, the grains are removed from the stalks by threshing. Then, after the rice seeds have been dried in the sun, they are hulled by hand with mortars and pestles or now, more commonly, by water- or motor-powered machines. Winnowing then separates the rice grains from the husks, which are discarded in piles, often two or three meters high. Fires are set to smolder deep inside these piles of husks, but do not erupt into flame. So the "fire in the husks" is a familiar image for this strong feeling of enmity that people can secretly harbor over the long term as they plan retaliation. There are two other closely related images: "musang berbulu ayam," "a civet cat in chicken feathers" (like "a wolf in sheep's clothing") and "musuh dalam selimut," "an enemy under the blanket." All three images are of negative elements that lie concealed.

Dendam and Anger

In the emotion maps, dendam is located in the "annoyance" area, close to but not part of, the "anger" area. Yet dendam is closely

related to anger. Pak B said, *"The cause of dendam, it's because of feeling angry. Usually a slow anger that's not resolved. It's also possible if the anger is restrained and in the heart a certain desire is buried, then at a certain moment the anger is released. That's called dendam…It can be hidden for a long time, in the heart…it can cause marah. Whether it takes the form of hurting an enemy, or clearing it up, the feeling is not nice for the enemy. It's called*

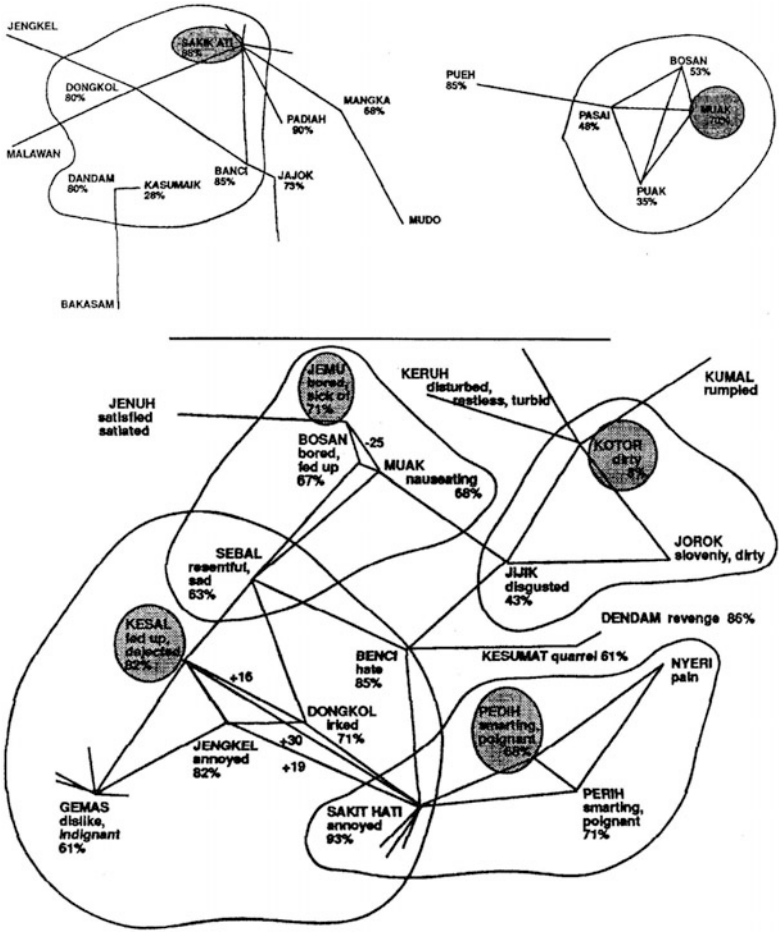


Figure 5.6 Dendam, kesumat—"hidden enmity, holding a grudge"—above: Minangkabau, below: Indonesian.

Source: Diagrams 28.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

dendam, dendam kesumat…dendam kesumat is a feeling of hurt, a feeling of anger." I ask, just dendam? *"Yes, it's the same. Dendam can't be separated from kesumat. Dendam demands kesumat."* 141

Pak A was more specific about the causes of dendam: *"There are several factors that bring on dendam in Minangkabau. The first is an insult, to be insulted about one's family, ancestors. If one's ancestors are insulted…There is a popular insult in Minangkabau: 'Your ancestors were the same as oranges drifting downstream'…That means, someone was expelled from some place nearby, they didn't eat, were sick, et cetera. And then they flourished here. But actually they didn't know that they were like an orange drifting—that's an insult. Later, their reputations were ruined…we were exiled to the mouths of the rivers, we drifted to the mouth of the river, we were exiled to the dry, cracked lands."* 142

For these Minangkabau, whose homeland is in high-mountain basin, the upstream-downstream dimension of rivers is a common and significant metaphor. In this traditional sense, upstream is more authentic and essential, downstream is the direction of the coast, the capital city of Padang, considered to be a crude, cultureless place where Minangkabau mix with other groups. (Today, Padang is the center of government, universities, commerce, and entertainment. But the traditional metaphors are still in use.) Voluntarily leaving the homeland (merantau) to gain experience and money, with the intention to return to home and community is most praiseworthy. But to be banished—the word used here, "buang," is what one does with garbage—throws it away—is a terrible disgrace. In fact, from Pak A's testimony it is the most serious disgrace imaginable. So, to suggest that a person's ancestors have been exiled is indeed a major insult.

Dendam is a hidden enmity that eventually leads to retaliation. Pak B says, *"Perhaps a physical fight—some form of a fight, perhaps a quarrel, at the very least a shouting match. Or perhaps some silent retribution* [here he uses the word dendam for the retribution itself] *it's delivered to the opponent…it's totally secret, done gradually…in a way that the opponent doesn't know about, one begins to hurt him. That's called 'fire in the husks'…if it's done secretly one stirs up slander—slander here, slander there, that also hurts him. Or there's also—an expression that we use in Minangkabau, 'vile ingredients'—that's a form of poison…and sometimes using a spinning top made of a human skull, using magical spells to make the opponent hurt. Get dizzy."* 143

Moussay (1995:407) describes this spinning skull as a magic used to hurt another. The skull is taken from the grave of a brave man who met a violent death. I have no evidence that such magic was ever practiced, and Father Moussay offers no corroboration. But certainly it is part of Minangkabau-folk knowledge.

Pak A agrees that poison may be used: "*It doesn't just kill one person, but sometimes five or six. Or magic is used to cause a skin disease.*" And he describes the rule: "*'Answer a gift with a gift, a blow with a blow.' Dendam is revenged. That's the custom . . .*" I ask if revenge is necessary? "*It's necessary, because according to custom it has to be revenged. As people say, that's Jahiliah custom. The old custom, before religion came in. Adat Jahiliah. It was followed in Mecca by the Jahil tribe before Mohammad became a prophet.*" 144

Both Pak A and Pak B agree that holding a grudge is against Islamic principles. One cannot hold a grudge for more than three days before making peace. Pak A said, "*According to Islam it is not allowed to hold a grudge more than three days—to not be on speaking terms is only possible for three days. More than three days, it's haram!* [proscribed by Islam.] *It's the same in Christianity I think—you are not allowed to do it endlessly. In Judaism also. Islam, Christianity, Judaism, they all stem from Abraham.*" 145

Pak A described a particular ritual done to reconcile the parties to such a dispute, to end the grudge. It is a feast (jamu), a ceremony (kenduri): "*They butcher a water buffalo, and 'the horns are buried.' The horns are buried in the ground, the turmoil is pushed aside. The meat is eaten. The intention is in burying the horns, each sharp, cutting problem that could hurt anyone is buried in the earth.*" 146

Dendam Asmara—Unrequited Love

There is another use of the word dendam, as in the phrase *dendam asmara*, unrequited love (asmara is a somewhat literary Sanskrit word for love). When I asked Pak B if there could be a good dendam, he replied, "*Generally, dendam is bad. But there is some that is somewhat good, like rindu dendam, dendam asmara, for example. Dendam asmara, if we don't have a complete feeling of love for someone, it's not reciprocated, that's dendam asmara because asmara, obviously, is a feeling of sympathy, of love. If it's not reciprocated, we feel dendam asmara. It's like 'the owl longing for the moon.' It loves the moon.*" And then Pak B explained the relationship between dendam kesumat and dendam

asmara: *"Dendam asmara is directed toward the loved one. Dendam kesumat, can also be directed toward the person who ran off with the loved one."* I asked if there is a difference between men and women? *"Both can feel it. Both have hearts, and the emotions are the same."* 147

Pak A agreed even though he rejected the phrase asmara dendam: *"The real dendam is especially about being hurt. But as for love, there's asmara. That's not dendam, it's called lara* [Echols/Shadily gives this as 'ill, sick, painful,' and Moussay defines laro as 'triste, consterne, desole']. *He doesn't succeed, but he's broken hearted, so 'berlara-lara,' not 'dendam.' A person who doesn't succeed in love, that's berlara-lara… He doesn't value his life, he's like a person who has lost hope. Like he's thrown himself away in vain. He doesn't shave, lets his hair grow, he drifts toward—he begins to be mentally ill. That causes lara."* He feels in love? *"He feels in love, but it's not reciprocated, it's broken off, he has to hide it away. Things are very tough… So he becomes an old bachelor, she becomes an old maid—doesn't want to marry… So it's different from the emotion of dendam kesumat… That's to be insulted, that becomes dendam kesumat. It's different from that kind of love that I mentioned before."* 148

The significance of dendam (kesumat) was obscured in the mapping task, where it was not embedded in a major cluster and was located in an area labeled with the relatively innocuous term "annoyance." And in the scenarios, it looks as if the respondents had in mind not just the concealed enmity but also the retaliation, or revenge. The Echols-Shadily dictionary does give both meanings for dendam. But it is clear, as both Pak A and Pak B talked about dendam (kesumat) that it plays an important role in the dynamics of Minangkabau village life. It is dangerous, and even though they each recognize the Islamic restraints on dendam, they paint a grim picture of what may actually result from dendam if it is not resolved. Even anger was not pictured in such socially disruptive terms.

Terkejut—"Surprise"

For the most part, the interview data from the second stage of this research have nicely complemented and expanded the findings based on the first stage. But in the case of the terkejut "surprise" clusters there were more contradictions. The characteristic

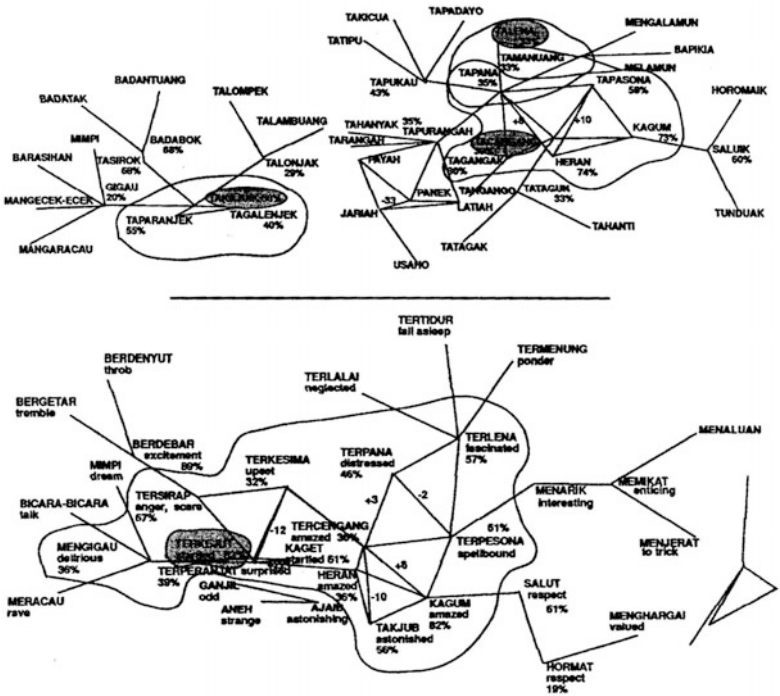


Figure 5.7 Terkejut—"surprise"—above: Minangkabau, below: Indonesian.

Source: Diagram 1.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

of terkejut, as negative reaction to sudden audible antecedents, versus tercengang as more neutral reactions to non-sudden visual antecedents did not stand up (Heider 1991a:64–67). My earlier generalization that surprise, which is generally positive in English, is strongly negative in Indonesian, is also challenged. In fact, these recent interviews did turn up some pleasant surprises. And while I had seen no explicit confusion outcomes, in this second stage at least one interview described strong confusion. These contradictions are usually the result of lack of certain data from the questionnaires. So, since the questionnaires allowed less opportunity for elaboration than did the interviews, I give more weight to the interview data.

Terkejut is nicely described by Pak B: "*Sometimes it is caused when we see something, something that we fear, unexpectedly. It*

comes, something hair-raising comes, an enemy comes for example—an opponent—someone who opposes us, we don't want to meet him, suddenly he appears! We are terkejut, wah! Terkejut. So our face turns pale! That means the blood goes away, our face is pale—sometimes we are afraid, the body shakes. Shivers. Terkejut is caused by an opponent who comes, a danger that comes—it may be a wild beast that comes when we are walking in the foothills—we are terkejut! Our face is pale. Lips pale, the eyes—they are not sharp, the sparkling of the eyes is not sharp. Right now, the light of the eyes is normal. But if we terkejut, fear, it's dull. That's terkejut." 149

The first men's focus group agreed about the face turning pale, but said also that it could redden:

"The heart trembles, the heart beats faster and when terkejut, the face gets red or pale."

Red or pale?

"Red, red when the terkejut is the result of malu ["shame"], *pale if the terkejut is caused by fear."* 150

Although Pak B describes negative antecedents for terkejut, the first women's focus group gave positive examples: *"We take a test and don't know if we'll pass or not, and then we actually pass with a good grade, with a very good grade—"surprised"* [in English]—*that's called terkejut also…If we see someone we didn't expect to arrive, for example, our child who went abroad long ago and never wrote, suddenly she appears in front of us, that can be called terkejut."* But they also give negative examples: *"If we see something that rarely happens, that can be terkejut. A building explodes, that's unthinkable, you can be stupefied, Pak Karl, stupefied while watching television—a stupefied person is silenced, just watches."* 151 (This session took place three days after the September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center in New York, which most of these Minangkabau followed on television.)

Pak A concentrated on negative antecedents of terkejut: *"A person is terkejut because of new events, things that he hasn't ever seen before. For example, if he's at the beach, ordinary people use small boats, but along comes a big ship—wah! That's terkejut! A person is terkejut and heran. Because of something very mysterious…something magical. Or a natural disaster, like a landslide or a flood with huge rocks of all sorts—that makes you terkejut…An event that is so big that a person runs around crazily, is afraid and all that, it's called gumayo. This gumayo, a person is startled, runs aimlessly about—like a volcanic eruption…'ssa tiger is loose!' and people are terkejut, very terkejut…included in gumayo there is tumult* [hiruak-

pikuak:m]—*gumayo hiruak-piruak. Chaos* [kalang-kabuik]…*that's the reactions from people who are terkejut…there are some who run to the rooftops—mainly they just can't think anymore.*" 152

The first men's focus group also emphasized the results of confusion:

"*To be confused is the emotion, not calm, but very mixed up, uncertain…*

—If there's confusion, if we aren't here, there's talk all around, everyone chatting in confusion, we can't hear, it's not pleasant, people talking all over.

—Such confusion upsets us, we are angry. Often, I am a teacher, in front of the class, and I am often angry. —If we see people in chaos outside, we are amazed and also terkejut." 153

Gender Differences

Although I had systematically asked about differences between men and women in their emotion behavior, I rarely had any success. However, this "surprise" area turned out to be somewhat more interesting. The first women's focus group said,

"*As for females, women on the average are more easily terkejut. Easily tasirok. Easily tapana. That's because women give preference to emotions, they become emotional easily. As for men, they analyze things first.*

—As an example, Pak Karl, of the situation of terkejut: a child comes home without being expected, perhaps the father just seems as usual, says hello, you just arrived, that sort of usual thing. But the mother certainly howls loudly, dissolves in tears. Certainly lots of that is on account of her terkejut, but as for men, the father will just say a little 'yes, you just arrived, hello,' but the child will be embraced by the mother."

Why not by the father, I asked?

"*It's not that the father lacks love…But usually the man uses logic first, rationality. Usually the woman is direct. Her most potent weapon is tears, she expresses perhaps the emotion of tercengang, the emotion of terkejut, she cries straightaway. That's the difference between men and women. The feeling of nostalgia works the same, sometimes also latah* [the Malay cultural elaboration of the hyper-startle syndrome]. *That's just kodrat* [human nature, personality]…*The Almighty gives the kodrat to someone, and if it's a woman, her nature is to weep.*" 154

The other women's focus group agreed about the difference between men and women and also linked them to kodrat:

"In the case of terkejut or sadness, women are likely to cry, while men don't—they can control it. Because the kodrat of women is weak, while that of men is strong. Women are spoiled, men are resolute, even angry." 155

Kagum, Kaget, Heran

Kagum, kaget, and *heran* are close to terkejut in the map (1991a:135). Pak A claims that all three are really Javanese words. In his Minangkabau dictionary, Moussay (1995) includes only kagum and heran, but does not mention a Javanese origin for either. Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings (2004) attribute kagum and kaget to Jakarta/Java and heran to Arabic. In any case, they are well known to Minangkabau speakers. And all three seem to indicate a sort of amazement, with only some hints of a negative sense. Pak B said that kagum was like seeing a beautiful picture. For Pak A, kagum was even more significant, *"Usually seeing something noble. Great. Exalted…For example, the Sultan of Yogya goes out in his carriage amongst the crowds, in his golden carriage, Wah!"* But then he gives a negative example: *"It's understood as something heavy, difficult, dangerous…like the explosion of the Columbia* [in 2000 he must have meant the Challenger space shuttle]*—that's kagum!"* 156

Kaget, said Pak B, is the same as terkejut, *"But kaget usually doesn't involve an adversary. It's something that we run into unexpectedly, we don't expect to meet this problem—we know we are faced with a problem—that's kaget. An example: Pak Karl comes here—I didn't expect that he would be here. I am kaget, wah!…But kaget, I don't get pale, my face isn't pale, nothing. Only, I have to think harder. That's kaget."* 157

Heran, says Pak A, *"It's almost the same as the others, only with heran…Something happens—that's heran—the unusual. In a car, for example, if the road is going left and suddenly it turns right, that's heran. Water buffalo usually have only one calf. But now there are two! I am heran!"* 158

And Pak B stresses the puzzlement with heran: *"We don't understand the cause…suddenly a problem arises! That's heran. It's not rational…An example. Ah! We are selling things, and we calculate the balance, carefully, expecting that we get such and such amount of profit, but somehow, who knows, it's a loss! I am heran."* 159

Rindu—"Nostalgic Longing"

Rindu from the 1980s Research

In 1991a, I identified rindu as "the Minangkabau emotion par excellence," mainly on the grounds that it and its nearest neighbor in the map, kangen, were two of only three emotion words to get a 100 emotionality rating. And this fit the well-known ethnographic reputation of the Minangkabau as the most famous out-migrants of Indonesia. Rindu is, above all, the emotion of nostalgia, or homesickness, for a Minangkabau living in Java, say, and thinking of home. Home, for the Minangkabau, is often referred to as the kampung or nagari, the village, but most often in this connection as kampung-halaman, a phrase that links the yard to the buildings of the place. And of all the emotions in this chapter, rindu was the one that people had the most to say about, and seemed to enjoy talking about the most.

In the maps, rindu and kangen are almost alone. Their cluster includes ingat, "remember," and ingin, "want." Ingin itself is linked to several other terms. People generally recognize kangen as a Javanese word. The more interesting contrast is with *taragak*, the most salient Minangkabau word of this area. Curiously, the prototype score for taragak was 75 percent, considerably lower than the 100 percent that both rindu and kangen had. And although teragak, the obvious Indonesian cognate to taragak, appears in the Echols/Shadily Indonesian dictionary, it was not mentioned by my informants.

From the New (2000–2001) Research

As usual, at one session with Pak A, I had announced our next topic—in this case, rindu. At our next meeting, when I entered Pak A's front parlor/seminar room, I found that he had written out a scheme on his blackboard. He immediately began a half hour nonstop lecture on rindu, walking me through the diagram. I quote the first part as he delivered it. At the time, I was impatient to move on to the questions that I wanted to ask about rindu. But slowly I came to realize that it was important to listen to him, and the others I was discussing these matters with, in order to hear their voices, to understand their folk psychology. Elsewhere in this book I have intruded myself to a greater degree, but in this instance we can follow Pak A as he explains rindu to me. And I should add that this was our

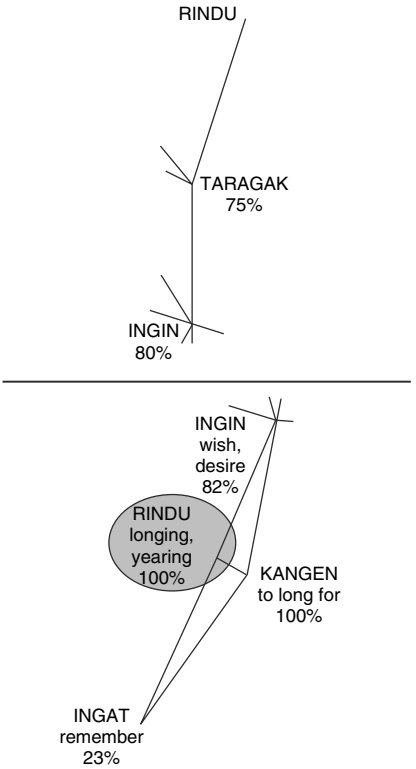


Figure 5.8 Rindu—"nostalgic longing"—above: Minangkabau, below: Indonesian.

Source: Diagrams 8.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

sixteenth hour of discussion, and by then he had a good idea of the way I was thinking and what sorts of knowledge I sought. So this is not exactly a statement uninfluenced by the outside anthropologist. But perhaps it is Pak A's attempt to put me on the right path.

Pak A begins:

> *Today our subject is the question of rindu, yes. So, this question of rindu, in Indonesian and in Minangkabau, it is very similar, almost the same. But not the same. There are still differences. Because the expression rindu is a Malay expression. In the Malay language. Even up to today, in Malay—Malaysia, Riau* [an Indonesian province on the East coast of Sumatra] *it is still used in poems, in pantuns, and*

also in daily life. In Minangkabau, rindu is "sangat suko" ["to want very much"]. *Suka, sangat suka* [the same but in Indonesian]. *It can also be said, "harok bana:m"—to really hope for. Harok bana. It can also mean, "sangat birahi:m," or "sangat tacinto:m"* [great passion, lust]. *Thus, for "sangat tacinto," or "sangat birahi" it refers probably to the opposite gender. As for "sangat tacinto," it can also be used for one's own local area, or village, or for example, "I really want to got to America, I want to see America"—that's tacinto. There is a pantun that says "disappeared in the mirror"—mirror is glass—you see a face in the glass—it vanishes—this is a very special mirror, not an ordinary one. A mirror in which you can see something far away. That means the mirror is an extraordinary mirror. It vanishes—in that unusual mirror it vanishes. "In the pedoman"* [pedoman is a compass but here it refers to the soul]*—the pedoman is a sort of pedoman—in one's thoughts—"in the soul it is still visible." That's because of love. Because of rindu. So, "The person from Baruik goes home to Baruik, The person from Piaman goes home as well."*

"That's the sampiran" [the first two lines of a standard pantun, often with no direct relation to the subject of the last two lines]. *Baruik is a village. Piaman, or Pariaman is also a village. But the meaning of "vanished from the mirror, still present in the soul": to yearn for strongly is to dream about, to hope for…It can be for a high title, a post, or just a title: scholar, or datuk, or ulama. Then also hope and dream for freedom for the home and village. Then there are love charms—special love charms—lots of them. They are mystical. Some are popular—the buluh perindu. That is like bamboo. They make flutes out of it. It's a wind instrument, blown with special mystical skill—with knowledge—remembering the person who is loved. That person who is loved,—their heart won't sleep—is reminded of the person playing the flute. That's how it works. In fact, today it still works. Even if one person is here, and the other in Jakarta, when she is hit with the magic flute music, she remembers. And that love charm is in the form of a flute. A different form, the bamboo itself, a charm is placed in it, tied in. There are also lots of other kinds of love magic. From clever people—some are amulets, some are objects, but the most special, really, are so-called love charms that don't use special ingredients, there aren't actual things. No things, no magic, no amulets, no necklaces, no rings. But the love magic that doesn't use objects is a personal love magic. So we come back to the matter of budi.* [see p.—] *A person who plants good budi toward another, that also is love magic. He doesn't use magic things but the other person won't ever forget—good deeds.* 160

And then Pak A went on to tell two stories to illustrate rindu: one about a friend of his who fell in love with his nurse while recovering

from a serious accident, and another story of a friend who moved to Europe but could never forget his home in West Sumatra.

Pak B said: "*Rindu—that's a desire or a longing that's very strong. It begins from—its cause—if you haven't seen someone for a long time, or there's a certain feeling in your heart, you have a really burning desire to meet her, that's called rindu… It's about a person or about home… for example, if Pak Karl stays a long time in Indonesia, a feeling of rindu about home in America rises up. Then there is a strong desire to go home, you fantasize about it—places you know, where you used to play, or where you went on vacation. As for Minangkabau, we usually imagine a riverbank bathing place… In the past in West Sumatra, the bathing places were for communal bathing—maybe a river, maybe a well, or a spring, some clear water… or a tank—a special bathing place… not just for bathing—we gathered, joked around with friends.*" Pak B also told of love magic, the magic flute, and he quoted the same pantun as Pak A had, about keeping the lover's face in one's heart. 161

> The first men's focus group commented on a saying that attributed rindu particularly to the young-in-love: The rule of youth is to suffer rindu
>
> The rule of age is to suffer ills.

"It means that rindu is more for youth, because suffering rindu is normal for them.

—and for old people, usually rindu is less, because of their responsibilities there are lots of worries hanging on, experiences bitter and experiences sweet… and so rindu for old people isn't any longer rindu for a lover." 162

Rindu versus Taragak

Rindu is the same word in both Indonesian and Minangkabau, and taragak:m becomes teragak in Indonesian. Yet despite the easy availability of both words in both languages, rindu is clearly the Indonesian preference and taragak is preferred when speaking Minangkabau. I explored the two words with the focus groups. The first men's focus group said,

"*There is taragak basuo* [longing to meet] *but there's also Indonesian rindu, rindu dendam* [longing to return], *but in a positive sense the enthusiastic desire to meet with one's wife who lives in another city, the enthusiastic desire to meet with one's lover, and*

also in Indonesian, 'rindu dendam,' the enthusiastic sexual desire to meet one's wife.

—But rindu dendam is a very strong desire."

To do something bad?

"But it is often positive.

—So it means to want to meet very soon.

—But it's positive, even though it's 'dendam,' the expression is strongly positive.

—So the person who is rindu dendam doesn't want to take revenge but in fact is very happy.

—And also included in rindu dendam is the enthusiastic desire for freedom, as when our people were colonized, they wanted rindu dendam."

Rindu dendam for freedom?

"Yes, immediate freedom, independence.

—Before, when Indonesia was colonized by the Dutch, there finally was a strong desire for freedom, and that is included in the phrase 'rindu dendam.' So, rindu is really Indonesian, because in the villages I have never heard people use it. If they use the word rindu in the villages, it's just joking around, because rindu is not actually a Minangkabau word." 163

A women's group said,

"Taragak is the desire for something

—for example, taragak for home, taragak for rendang [a Minangkabau meat dish], *and eating. But rindu is an inner feeling, a desire to see a child, or, often, rindu to see someone of the opposite gender, while taragak is about going home…rindu is more to do with the imagination…you can't be rindu for durian* [a potent Southeast Asian fruit], *but you can be taragak for durian."*

And they said, *"Rindu means that the soul is shivering within."* 164

We discussed the well-known image, "The owl longs for the moon," as an example of rindu. I resisted this. The first meanings of rindu always had to do with nostalgia, that is, longing for something that the person once knew. And the owl clearly had never been to the moon. But these women were not swayed by my logic and explained that this is *"an example of a fantasy that can never be realized, a daydream that couldn't be."* 165

The first men's focus group said,

"Rindu is usually for something that is loved. Rindu is an inner feeling of kasih-sayang [love/nurturance], *taragak for nasi kapau* [the special cuisine of the village of Kapau, nearby], *but rindu is*

connected with kasih-sayang. Taragak, for example, taragak to eat at the Simpang Raya, or to eat nasi kapau… You can have taragak for a friend, a friend who has been away for a long time, who hasn't come home for five years—we taragak to see him."
What if I want to eat squid, I asked?
"That's taragak."
But I continued, I ate squid two days ago, today I go into a restaurant, can I taragak squid, or do I want it, or just order it?
"Pak Karl, two days ago you ate squid?"
Yes, and now I want to eat it again.
"That isn't taragak. For taragak, it has to be something longer ago. This is called 'squid tastes good,' 'you are pleased with squid'—it can't be taragak." 166

The other women's focus group put it this way:

"Rindu is Indonesian…it means to want from one's innermost self [sanubari] *coming from the heart. But taragak, that's Minangkabau, but it arises, is stimulated by something, for example, the senses of sight or smell or taste. For an example of taragak: she is walking around and sees a woman carrying a little baby, and she says, 'I'm taragak, it's just like my grandchild'…her grandchild is living abroad, so she is taragak for the grandchild. For example, with the sense of taste, we eat rendang*
—'eh, we are taragak eating rendang'"
You can be rindu eating rendang, I ask?
"No, you can't say that you are rindu eating rendang. There's no such thing as rindu eating rendang. Rindu is for people…"
I ask, is rindu from the heart, not from the senses?
"No, directly from the inner self." 167

Then the second men's focus group explained rindu and taragak this way:

" Rindu is Indonesian, Taragak is Minangkabau: taragak to meet someone, taragak to eat something tasty, taragak to the village, taragak to meet with an old friend, taragak toward the family."
What's the difference, I ask?
"A way to explain the words is: rindu is like the owl longing for the moon. He doesn't get there, but he is rindu. But apparently love is not yet certain, only he just wants to meet. So, for example, I am taragak with Pak Karl, but rindu means love…rindu means an emotion, an inner emotion…so that old saying, 'The owl has rindu for the moon,'…means the desire isn't fulfilled…There's another similar one: 'he wants to hug the mountain'
—but his arms can't reach it

—that's taragak. Perhaps it's this way, the meaning is, we talk about hugging the mountain, you can't say taragak because taragak is a desire, a desire to reach out with a purpose. Taragak means that we desire to eat, taragak we eat; we wish to meet that person, taragak we meet that person. So, if I feel the desire exactly that's taragak . . . Taragak is also an emotion, for example, taragak for the home, taragak basuo [taragak to see or meet someone], *that means there is an emotion, wanting to go home is an emotion. The principle is the same, only the word rindu if used by people in connection with the emotion that reflects kasih-sayang, while taragak may be used like before, like a desire—yes, a physical desire, like to eat."* 168

Taken together, these various statements illustrate the difficulty of formulating single elegant definitions of teregak and rindu. Too much rich description would have to be impeached and discarded if we were to propose the sort of descriptions advocated by Wierzbicka and her students (e.g., Wierzbicka 1999, Goddard 1995). But here, all the statements agree that we are dealing with desires and that teregak can be a desire for a particular food while rindu cannot. Several say that rindu is an inner feeling, and the two men's groups link rindu to kasih-sayang, "love, nurturance" (see p. 197, below). Two groups describe rindu with the saying that "the owl longs for the moon." And this suggests where "nostalgia" is an inadequate English equivalent of rindu, for the owl is certainly not fantasizing a return to a place that it once knew.

But if we think of Minangkabau as the language of traditional village life, and Indonesian as the language of cosmopolitan urban activities, we see different pictures drawn of the two situations. Teregak, the Minangkabau word, refers to desire for foods, home, and relatives, while rindu, the Indonesian word, refers to love, sexuality, inner feelings, and fantasies. Generally, teregak points to traditional life, rindu to modern life.

The Magic Flute—Buluh Perindu

In 2000, David Lyon was studying Minangkabau music and martial arts with a group in Bukittinggi, and one night he was taken up the slopes of nearby Mt. Merapi on a quest to collect special bamboo for flutes. These may or may not have been the *buluh perindu*. Echols and Shadily define it as mythical, and Moussay says that it is magical, an enchanted flute made from the appropriately named Bambusa magica Ridl. (1995:207). Both dictionaries say that it is

meant to make the hearer full of rindu and fall in love with the musician.

The first women's focus group said of the buluh perindu,

"I think it's a story. I had a grandfather who was a penghulu, we called him 'inyiak,' and he told us stories about the buluh perindu. That's a small bamboo that grows on Mt. Merapi, in the craters, not every one can go there, special people can, people who have the calling to gather bamboo, actually there isn't any.

—Only, possibly a miracle, who knows, but there were people who could see the bamboo, and from that bamboo they make it into a flute and whoever sees it falls in love straightaway. The story may be true or it may not be, but according to my grandfather it was a true story but I never saw it, they say it's yellow with three-lobed leaves, and only grows down in the craters of Mt. Merapi."

How can it grow in the heat?

"—It doesn't grow, but only appears, but not all people can see it, only certain people can.

—Back then there were lots who had the ability, who had ilmu [here: magical knowledge].

—Mystical knowledge… When a youth plays the buluh perindu, anyone who heard it fell in love and presumably that's why it's called buluh perindu… Every market day in Bukittinggi, every Wednesday and Saturday on RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia) at 10 a.m. there is a flute program.

—That's because people abroad hear the flute and are bought to tears. It's really nice to hear the flute…

—Lapeh taragak awak jo kampuang. 169

The second women's focus group thinks that these magical flutes are still being used,

"usually just in the villages but in a city like Bukittinggi it's very rare, but it does occur somewhat in the back country.

—It's 'primitif' [in English].

—Still primitif.

—As the Bataks play the guitar.

—As the Minangkabau play the buluh, play the flute." 170

Hidden Rindu—Mengandung Rindu

When I asked about the expression "hidden rindu" (mengandung rindu), the second women's focus group said,

"It's a feeling of a person really wanting to meet, to get together, an expression for a person wanting to meet someone they parted from long ago.

—Mengandung means—hidden away.

—For example, if you write a letter the rindu is implicit, for example, from the language it is obvious that he is rindu.

— 'At night I can't sleep.'

—But he doesn't say it in an explicit way, it is implicit.

—'We have to write between lines' [in English].

—It's not written openly.

—But in concealed words and sentences.

—A person can mean rindu for the family.

—'At night I can't sleep.'

—'The food isn't good.'

—'Drinking water tastes bad [literally, thorny].'

—'The rice tastes like husks, the water tastes bad.' (A well-known saying.)

—For example, Pak Karl, you have stayed a long time in Indonesia, six months, and of course you have rindu for your family so you want to go home again and meet with your family."

But I can't say it directly?

> *"—Only feel it.*
>
> *—To say the sentence 'I am rindu for you,' no. But 'rice tastes like husks, water tastes bad,' that people will understand. Oh, you are very rindu, the people reading your letter will know that."*

But to me the food here tastes good, even though I am rindu, the food is really tasty.

"—Then that's not really rindu.

—It's not yet strong rindu.

—It's just a bit rindu.

—If it were strong rindu, you wouldn't be able to eat." 171

Gender Differences

The first women's focus group said,

"Women more often hide

—or control

—malu

—this is related to situations with the opposite gender

—men are usually a bit more berani [bold], *for example, with the pantun. But Minangkabau people don't speak directly, Pak Karl. To say, 'Oh, I love you' just wasn't done."*

I then ask, but men can?

"With pantuns, but the woman must have the ability to figure out the pantun. If a man is rindu for a woman, he doesn't know day from night, he comes by at noon, at night . . . in the rain

—that's men's rindu. As for women, they are hidden, but their inner voice [hati kecil] *still wants to get together, but she is malu to say anything, but lots is said with tears."* 172

But the other women's group denied that there were any differences between men and women in their rindu behavior:

"men and women feel the same, they want to meet, they feel rindu and taragak, there's no difference."

I ask, what if the boy migrates out to Jakarta and the girl stays in the village?

"The emotion of rindu will emerge, the desire to meet."

The one who stays or the one who goes, I ask?

"It's the same feeling of wanting to meet, that's rindu . . . " 173

The first men's group said,

"Yes, it's the same, but as for a man, he can talk about it, or a friend may tease him about it. For a man, talking about rindu with friends is nothing much, but for a woman, they don't like to be ashamed talking about rindu to their boyfriend. Among women also, except for one or two close friends, but men can talk with lots of people, it's not really a problem, 'no problem' [in English]. *As for male friends, they don't want to chatter or 'gossip'* [in English] *about it."* 174

The second men's group began by saying that there was no difference between men and women: "*Women taragak eating sate* [pieces of meat, skewered and grilled], *men also taragak eating sate. For example, women who are abroad taragak coming home, men also, the same taragak. Only the expression is different. For example women's emotions are refined. For example, she is rindu, rindu for her boyfriend, she talks about meeting him but because she is limited by the rules of adat, she can't take the initiative to meet with him because the basic pattern remains, mostly as for a woman who is rindu, she might express it in other ways, for example, singing to express rindu. But for a man, rindu is different*

—he manages in some way to meet his girlfriend. In the past, Minangkabau weren't allowed to meet, so they went to a bathing place and waited at the water, 'Oh, that's her passing by!'

—and they manage to meet. As for women, they can only express themselves in a way consistent with their nature as Minang women, and that is different for emotions . . . "

I ask, the ways of expression are different?

"Yes. Look, Pak Karl, rindu is tied to malu. Ya, Pak Karl, women who feel rindu very strongly are overcome by the emotion of malu, while men aren't, but a rindu woman usually has covered it over in her heart." 175

Nafsu—"Desire, Lust, Driving Ambition"

Nafsu from the 1980s Research

Anthropologists familiar with the Arabic world of Islam to the West of Indonesia have discussed the key opposing drives of nafsu, or passion and 'qal, or reason (Rosen 1984, Torab 1996, Eichelman 2002). They have emphasized the dangers of passion when uncontrolled by reason and have noted how this plays out in schemes of gender. Women are more dangerously subject to their nafsu, so it is up to men, with their stronger 'qal, to protect women and to temper their passion. These two concepts came to the Minangkabau with Islam, and are called nafsu and akal in Indonesian. In 1991, I summed up the Minangkabau schema of nafsu:

> James Siegel (1969) has examined the meaning of nafsu for the Acehenese, a culture at the northwestern tip of Sumatra, not far from the Minangkabau. The word itself comes from the Arabic and refers to the animal lust of man, which is in opposition to his rationality (akal). Nafsu pulls man away from God, and a central concern of Acehnese culture is dramatizing man's struggle against nafsu. However, the Aceh, one of the most devout Muslims of Indonesia, are a people who were and are strongly and directly influenced by Arabs and Arabic Muslim theology to a degree that Minangkabau are not. True, I have heard Minangkabau call themselves "Islam Fanatik," but that is only in comparison with other peoples of Indonesia, such as the Christian Batak and the mystical or Muslim Javanese. Looking at Indonesian cultures as variations on a common theme, we could characterize Aceh as being concerned with lust vs. reason; and the Javanese as being concerned with harmonious compatibility [see C. Geertz 1960:31]. For the Minangkabau, however, what seems most important is order vs. disorder, and for them nafsu, although a well-known word, had none of the theological terror Siegel describes for the Aceh. Rather, nafsu for Minangkabau is curiously denatured. It is used widely, the way Americans use the word "love"—one can nafsu ice cream, one can nafsu clothes, and it is all quite permissible [see the discussion of nafsu below, p. 193, and in Heider 1991a:68,69].

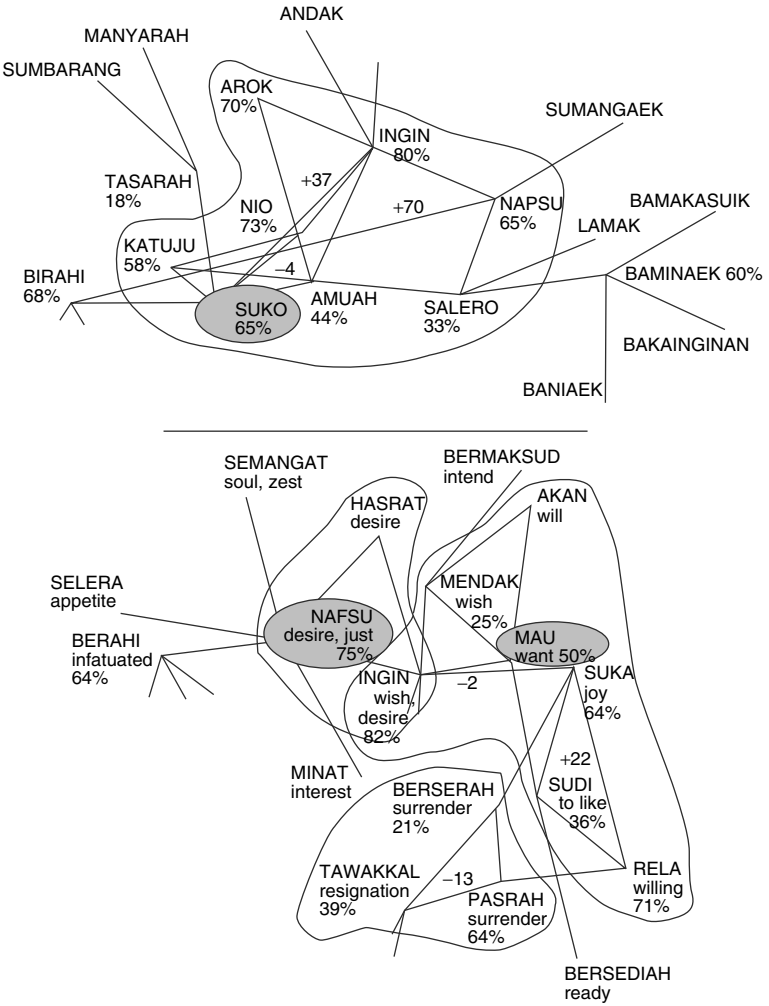


Figure 5.9 Nafsu—"desire, lust, driving ambition"—above: Minangkabau, below: Indonesian.

Source: Diagrams 3.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

From the New (2000–2001) Research

I shall return to the issue of generalized labels later. On the basis of these new interviews, I have less confidence in my earlier emphasis on order and disorder. And it seems clear that in my earlier attempts

to point out the positive and banal meanings of nafsu, I underestimated its importance for Minangkabau. As the interviews show, nafsu runs the gamut from seminal to trivial and is not simply "curiously denatured."

But it is clear that within the Malaysia/Indonesia region there is considerable variation in the meaning of nafsu. Since 1978, Michael G. Peletz has been studying the Malay culture of Negeri Sembilan, in Malaysia. This is of particular interest since this area was settled by Minangkabau from Sumatra and retains such Minangkabau traits as the matrilineal social organization. But Peletz says about "passion," or nafsu:

"I should stress that there are some crucial differences between Malay understanding and representations of 'passion' on the one hand, and those reported for culturally similar groups such as the Acehnese and Javanese on the other." (1996:224).

Both Peletz and the Malay anthropologist Wazir Jahan Karim (1990:36) state that there is little or no trace of any positive meaning of nafsu in Malaysia. They both suggest that the difference between Malaysia and what Siegel describes for Aceh and Mark Woodward for Java is attributable to the influence of Sufism in Indonesia. Sufism is a general term for various mystical movements that have spread to all parts of Islam (Eichelman 2002:265–277). For Sufis, ecstasy can be a way to approach the sacred. Thus, it is not surprising that where Sufis are strong, there should be a positive side to nafsu.

Peletz also notes that the complex four-part categorization of nafsu that Woodward reported from Java seems to be unknown in Negeri Sembilan. Woodward, who studied "normative piety and mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta" (1989), lists four types of nepsu (the Javanese cognate of nafsu) about which, he says, "There is nearly universal agreement" among Yogyakarta mystics (1989:191):

1. Aluhamah, greed.
2. Amarah, anger.
3. Mutmainah, tranquility.
4. Supiyah, "the desire to destroy evil desire."

Clifford Geertz, in his report on research in east central Java in the early 1950s, describes a very similar system—similar in structure, but differing in detail, that he calls "the four basic 'drives' in Javanese metaphysical psychology:

—amarah—aggression, lust for power;

—supiah—greed, desire for property;
—mutmainah—the passion for tranquility, desire for inner peace;
—aluamah—hunger, desire for food and drink" (1960:327)

And Howard M. Federspiel, who compiled "A Dictionary of Indonesian Islam," primarily from Indonesian-language publications, includes:

—nafsu amarah, anger and an inner impulse to vent rage through bad action;
—nafsu awwamah, an inner impulse for undertaking good actions;
—hawa nafsu, passions;
—nafsu mutmainah, an inner impulse to protect oneself by bringing God into the mind's eye (1995:182).

This brief survey of the reported meanings of nafsu in Java, Sumatra, and the Malay peninsula illustrates the perils of generalizing about emotion words in the Indonesian archipelago. And even more, it shows how invalid it is to assume a cultural uniformity between Indonesia and Malaysia, despite the closeness of culture and language in the two countries (as, for example, in Goddard 1995).

If we now turn to the data from my Minangkabau informants, we find more detailed variation, although we recognize a closer affinity to the Javanese ideas of a good as well as a bad nafsu, and the presence of a four-fold categorization of nafsu.

When I asked Pak B about nafsu, he began by speaking of food: "*Nafsu, that's an urge of the heart, a desire…Sometimes nafsu is strong, sometimes there's a weak nafsu—in fact, there's even nafsu for food…The nafsu for food arises even when there isn't hot sauce or vegetables. We have an appetite, and it arises—'it's tasty!' That's nafsu…*" I ask if there is a bad nafsu? "*Yes, there is a bad nafsu. That nafsu is really the same as desire. It's only a little different. For example, it's usually aimed at males and females…one wife should be enough, but if someone has really strong nafsu, one isn't enough. Sometimes the badness emerges, and he doesn't do the right thing…As an example, Mr. Spotted Nose* [Si Hidung Belang]—*that's an expression. A person is called 'spotted nose' who has nafsu for women, who can't be satisfied with only his wife at home—he chases around.*" I ask, he's a crocodile? (I had heard this term—buaya—for a woman-chaser in Indonesian movies, but in fact none of these Minangkabau ever volunteered it.) "*Yes, a crocodile. That's*

the bad nafsu. But if nafsu is directed, it's good, it's controlled by the heart, that nafsu. If someone wants a woman, he gets married first, then he can have intercourse. But if not—if he's a Mr. Spotted Nose, or, as people also say, Basket-Eyed [Mata Keranjang]—*the basket—a trash holder can be called a basket also, is perforated, has lots of* [open-weave] *holes. 'She's a beauty, she's a beauty, she's a beauty!'—always staring—that's basket-eyed . . .* " I ask, can you nafsu durian ice cream? *"That's called keinginan* [wanting]—*you want durian ice cream. But if Pak Karl isn't satisfied with one helping, 'some more, some more'—that's nafsu."* 176

While Pak B had presented a more general understanding of nafsu, Pak A gave a more theologically based one. I had announced that we would talk about raso jo pareso (see above, p. ____). With several days to think about it, Pak A had prepared an outline on his blackboard that linked raso jo pareso, the emotion and reason of Minangkabau, with the desire and reason of nafsu and akal. Pak A explains:

> *Akal is divided into two parts. One includes external reason* [akal lahir] *and one includes internal reason* [akal batin]. *External reason is centered in the brain. Internal reason is centered in the liver* [here he uses two different words, hati, for liver, and kalbu, brain/mind]. *External reason emerges, focuses on these objects. All sorts of objects. There is a trend toward wealth, owning things, getting women, having power* [takhta, throne], *to have all sorts of things. But it doesn't bring true satisfaction. You may eat until you are full, you eat delicious food, but later you are hungry again. There is a saying: "If you drink seawater, the more you drink, the thirstier you get." . . . And it has its limits. The influence of external reason, the influence of the environment, according to the teachings of the Unity* [i.e., pervasiveness] *of God* [tauhid], *the alam nasut, the world of things. It's from Arabic. The world of things is about externals, and it is very dominant. But also, humans were given nafsu in order to endure life. Humans without nafsu can't survive. Nafsu to eat, nafsu for having genealogical continuity, nafsu for ownership. Nafsu, according to Islam, is divided into four categories:*
>
> *nafsu kebaikkan* [good]—*nafsu suci* [pure]—*the nafsu that searches for grandeur, that searches for God;*
>
> *nafsu sofia, nafsu berahi* [sexual desire]—*nafsu seksual;*
>
> *nafsu lawwamah, nafsu memiliki* [ownership], *egoistic toward belonging, accumulating things to be used for worldly pleasure;*
>
> *nafsu amarah* [anger], *nafsu bengis* [cruel]—*warlike, aggressive, quarrelsome—that's in the external reason, influenced by the outer reason. It's lodged at the base of the brain. Every sense contributes*

to reason and nafsu. The eyes want to see something beautiful, something good. Sometimes something forbidden is seen by the eyes. This is strongly influenced by the external reason of mankind. However, the external reason, the summation from external reason, creates the character of mankind. Mankind thus has its character. And that character gives rise to examination [pareso:m]. *Thus, according to Western philosophers, this could be called a theory.*

And a week later, Pak A returned to nafsu sofia, *"This nafsu, according to Islam, is the vehicle of Satan—Satan rides in it. Satan is in the brain. Satan is in the senses. He is there. Even in pure people . . . he is there in all of us."* 177

A month later Pak A returned to the four nafsu, but this time for the good nafsu he used the term "nafsu motsmaindah," which is not in the Moussay, Echols/Shadily, or Federspiel dictionaries but is clearly related to the more standard "mutmainah." He named the four nafsu and linked them to rindu: *"Nafsu motsmaindah, nafsu sofia, nafsu lawwamah, nafsu amarah. So, rindu is one aspect of nafsu. For example, if nafsu is rindu for an endeavor, like independence, that's a good endeavor. To fight for independence can be done with nafsu amarah. If independence isn't given, like happened between Indonesia and the Netherlands, it gets to the point of war. At first there were negotiations, talks, that was nafsu motsmaindah. Thinking. Then a United Nations round table. It became nafsu motsmaindah. Then it became nafsu amarah . . . Then killings, war. But lots of other countries didn't go that far. Like Malaysia with England—they didn't have a revolution, just nafsu motsmaindah."*

He then continued to develop the argument that there were good aspects of all the nafsus: *"We plant budi, we plant rice seeds, generally they grow and there's rice. But if we plant grass seeds, or weeds, it doesn't grow into rice. It just doesn't. So reasoning people always plant rice. The same with nafsu. As long as it is guarded by reason, by goodness—nafsu motsmaindah, nafsu sofia, nafsu lawwamah, nafsu amarah—they can be very useful. Rindu is useful, desire is useful, love is useful, sexual desire is useful. Very, very."* I ask, lust is useful? *"Useful! Nafsu is useful because without nafsu we wouldn't have any descendants. Sexual desire is useful, very useful! Otherwise humanity wouldn't develop. But it's not all alike. There must be balance."* 178

When Pak A and the men's group state that nafsu is guarded by reason, they are presenting a concept of emotion and reason diametrically opposed to what the same people said when we discussed raso jo pareso, p. 55 above. In that context they agreed that

emotions were the agents of propriety that controlled the irresponsible ranging of intellectual reason. But there is nothing in the laws of human nature that prohibits holding opposed beliefs simultaneously. Even strongly held cultural schemas may well contradict each other without causing unease. This is a point made long ago by Ruth Benedict when she wrote about Zen and Bushido in Japan and by Michael Kammen when he described Americans as "People of Paradox," exemplified by Thomas Jefferson, slave owner and author of the *Declaration of Independence*. (see Benedict 1946, Kammen 1972). Context is everything.

When I discussed nafsu with the first women's group. It was just three days after the September 11, 2001, attacks and the women had these events in their minds:

"Nafsu means a desire that's flared up
—that's nafsu
—very enthusiastic, that's called nafsu
—desire, enthusiasm, flaring strongly. If someone can't get what he wants, he is furious, very nafsu. For example, like the events in America
—people who destroyed the buildings were very nafsu, they killed lots of people… That nafsu was not controlled
—that's considered negative nafsu."

I asked if there is a positive nafsu, a good nafsu?

"*We need nafsu*
—for the spirit of life we need nafsu, our desires, but controlled nafsu." 179

Gender Differences

The first women's focus group explored gender differences:

"Nafsu, men for women, if nafsu from men toward women, they want to own them. But there is also the nafsu of men toward women, that's nafsu berahi.
—Sexual nafsu.
—Sexual nafsu arises.
—Nafsu where there is too much semangat.
—That's also called nafsu.
—It means a very strong desire."

And the reverse?

"—The reverse, that of women toward men also occurs, only if the men can endure it, when the women can, that becomes the woman's nature to endure nafsu, but if it's a man, it's called sexual

nafsu, it's hard to control because he has to get his wish, that's probably the nature of men, but women can still practice self-control."
How can men control it?

"Men maybe can control sexual nafsu through exercising until their energy is spent. Women can control it, women can also control their interest, maybe it's possible, we look at daily life, it's possible." 180

The second women's focus group agreed:

"Men have higher nafsu than women, but women do have it…women more often have malu.

—But if a man sees a woman, nafsu arises, for example, to hold, to get close, and so forth."
So women can control nafsu?

"They can because malu is stronger than men's, because malu reduces nafsu.

—With men, malu is somewhat lower, nafsu somewhat stronger, than with women.

—Men control nafsu with difficulty, but women can."
How?

"Because women's malu is nine, men's is one, like we said before…it's a matter of environment, of religion…

—From childhood, the emotion of malu is planted." 181

Where the women had said that nafsu was controlled by malu, the second men's focus group emphasized the role of akal, or reason, in controlling nafsu:

"Yes, to control nafsu we have akal. And by the way, we have, because inside Minangkabau people we have religion…

—as for Minangkabau, that raso jo pareso, both control nafsu. Raso controls nafsu, pareso controls nafsu, so those means control nafsu heart and reason.

—Minangkabau parents used to give advice, 'don't do wrong, do good things a lot.' That's to control nafsu." 182

Images of Fire

Images of fire appear in talk about nafsu. I asked the first women's focus group about gebu: *"It's sexual desire.*

—Great semangat.

—Berjolak."
Berjolak?

"—Like fire, people who flare up, that's desire, it can take lots of different forms. If the desire flares up high, it can be shaped in

various ways. If someone desires something, has to have it, it flares up." 183

Nafsu food? People do talk of nafsu for banal pleasures like food: *"If you see a durian, nafsu to eat it arises, yes. If you see tasty, spicy food, nafsu to eat it arises."* But when I asked if people could "nafsu durian," I was corrected: *"No, Pak Karl, it only can be said in a sentence, if you see durian, you have a nafsu to eat it, a desire to eat it."* 184

Controlling Nafsu

When I asked the first men's focus group (a few days after the September 11, 2001, attacks) how to control nafsu, they said,

"With reasoned thought, with reason.

—Reason is shaped by education and religion.

—Education, religion, and society with adat, which control nafsu by studying religion, with following the teachings. Sometimes people or a group controls the good nafsu, but that's a sign of being guided by events. Uncontrolled nafsu becomes a sort of wild horse, that runs into things here and there, it's the sort of things that happened in America, it's nafsu that's not controlled by reasoned thought, it becomes like that, blind, sadistic, and so the desires are in one's character from birth and need to be controlled by rational thought, by adat, by education, by religion for example, in school, in the family, society, the environment…So for Minangkabau nafsu is controlled by akal, reason.

—So nafsu is a very special part of emotions…nafsu is a horse, a wild horse, and reason is the jockey or rider that can control it where ever the horse goes…"

And later,

"—So raso jo pareso is the one thing that can control nafsu.

—It can control nafsu.

—Behavior, reason, emotion, then it's examined, looked at right and left, up and down, front and back.

—Isn't it right that we speak of that, first looking all around." 185

Kasih, Sayang, Cinta, Asmara—"Love," "Nurturance," "Pity"

This is a particularly interesting and complex cluster. Interesting, because it includes romantic love, which anthropologists and

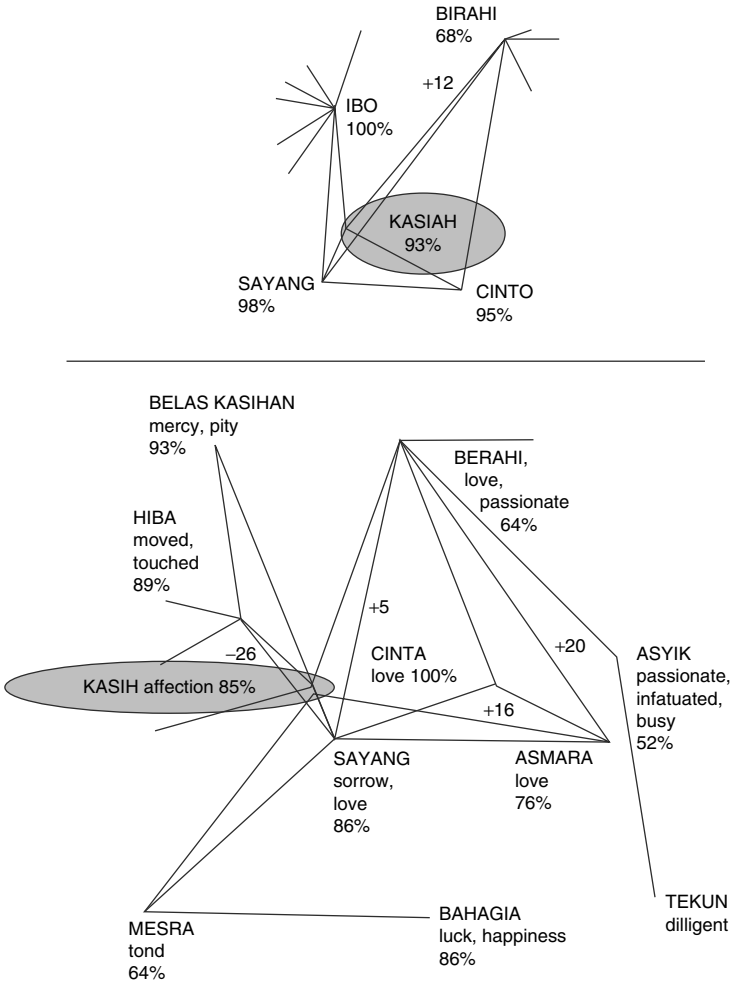


Figure 5.10 Kasih, sayang, cinta, asmara—"love, nurturance, pity"—above: Minangkabau, below: Indonesian.

Source: Diagrams 6.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

cultural historians have tended to consider a particularly European invention and so have downplayed its role in non-Western cultures. Perhaps there was too much obsession with marriages that were arranged by relatives in the economic and political interests

of the groups. W. R. Jankowiak and his colleagues have argued that romantic love is indeed found in most cultures (1992, 1995). Certainly, Minangkabau have two competing schemas for marriage, one insisting on arrangements made by family and clan leaders, and the other where the two principals make their own matches. On the basis of my casual observations, it seems that arranged marriages are still important for first marriages of upper-class people, but divorce is not uncommon and even those who have had their first marriages arranged are likely to be on their own for subsequent marriages.

And then there is culture change. We are speaking in this book about culture, about what some Minangkabau know about emotion and folk psychology. Like all culture, it changes. But recently probably no part of the entire landscape of emotion has changed more than this "love" cluster, for it has been impacted by the proliferation of television and cinema, bringing popular entertainment from abroad into the villages and the homes of Indonesians. And thus some version of the American schemas of love and marriage, for better or worse, are being thrust into Minangkabau consciousness. This is more true for Minangkabau youth than for my informants, who are on the whole no longer engaged in courtship on their own behalf. But even here, many are concerned with their children's involvement. One of the next stages of this research might well be to compare the emotion schemas of this older generation, born in the 1930s and 1940s, with those of teenagers born in the 1980s. Surely this "love" clusters would be a key starting point.

In 1991, I had analyzed the questionnaire results at length (70–72, 165–176) and summed up the antecedents and outcomes of four words in the following table (71):

Asmara, from the Sanskrit, is briefly noted in Moussay's Minangkabau dictionary but apparently not used much in actual speech. Cinta is one of only three Indonesian words to get a 100 percent prototypicality rating as an emotion word. (Although Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings 2004 note cinta as Sanskrit, it seems to be thoroughly absorbed into Indonesian.) Kasih and sayang were both in the mid-80 percents and asmara was lowest at 76 percent. The cluster itself is closely tied to the "sad" area in all three maps. This contrasts with English, where love is much closer to happy (see, e.g., Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson et al. 1987:1067).

Table 5.3 Antecedents and outcomes of words in the "love" cluster

	Antecedents	*Outcomes*
Minangkabau		
CINTO	desirable other	help, sacrifice, emotion
KASIAH	suffering other	helps
SAYANG	suffering other, admirable	helps child
Indonesian		
CINTA	desirable other	sacrifice
KASIH	suffering other	helps, interaction
SAYANG	admirable child	protects, helps, interaction
ASMARA	desirable other	emotion, interaction

The New Interview Data

Pak A said,

> *According to Minangkabau, kasih is soul language. To say kasih, it's not with the mouth but with the heart. Kasiah:m here, a sort of philosophy emerges—to kasiah is not really to own something. But kasiah is complete. And kasih can also be in the form of helping, aiding, lifting up the life of someone who has fallen. That's kasih. But sayang—that's the language of the body—physical language. People sayang because of physical attraction. It could be because of beauty, it could be because of wanting to possess something, it could be because of handsomeness, it could be because of that. So, we had the phrase kasih-sayang. Kasih-sayang is soul language and physical language—it is called cinta. It is a synthesis of kasih and sayang—it's called kasih-sayang. A synthesis, a balance—there's kasih, there's sayang, it is cinta…Asmara is a culminating wave of cinta. Like the ocean…Sometimes there is a strong reaction, sometimes the soft wind doesn't blow, but the heart is poisoned…It's as if the hand isn't reciprocated—"the attack isn't countered, love isn't returned," "if you clap with only one hand, there's no sound." That's asmara. The culmination of cinta. People say, "drunk with asmara."* 186

Then, at our next session, Pak A had written up the following on his blackboard (I have added the English.) He used it to return to this concept of the language of the soul and the body (bahasa jiwa-raga), something that hadn't come up in our first 20 sessions:

Table 5.4 Pak A's schema of the "love" cluster

Kasih—bahasa jiwa [soul language]	*Kasih-sayang = bahasa jiwa raga [soul-body language]*
Sayang—bahasa raga [body language]	
Cinta—sangat ingin [really want]	
Sangat suka [really like]	
Sangat sayang [really sayang]	
Sangat tertarik hati [really feel attracted]	
Sangat teringat [really remember]	
Selalu rindu [always long for]	
Berahi—sangat suka [really like]	
Suka mengerjakan selalu	
Asyih cinta kasih	
Mesra—meresap dalam hati—menyerap masuk	
Berpadu, sangat erat, kasih yang erat	
Bercampur	
Asmara—suatu perasaan dalam bercinta	
Terjar karena geturan cinta	

> *The language of soul-body—if it's just kasih, that's soul language; if it's just sayang, it's body language; so kasih-sayang is soul-body language. Actually, it's all connected. Connected with the case of cinta, connected with the case of berahi, the case of mesra, the case of asmara. That's kasih-sayang, it's all there. All included in kasih-sayang. Ordinarily, if we want to subdivide the case of cinta, there is desire, wanting, sayang, attraction, remembering, nostalgia—if we want to subdivide, no? Then there's the emotion of berahi: to want a lot, to want to do everything, infatuation, that's berahi. Mesra goes deep into the heart, all-pervasive in the soul. It is united, very close, very close kasih, want to be totally involved, that's mesra. Asmara is an emotion of cinta. It comes from the vibrations of cinta. There's no asmara if there's no cinta. If there's no vibrations, there's no asmara. For example, if cinta is not reciprocated, the other doesn't cinta, then there's no asmara. But if there is cinta on both sides, then there's asmara.* 187

While Pak A had struggled to differentiate the terms close to kasih, Pak B was less concerned with such fine-grained analysis: "*It seems to me that kasih and sayang mean the same. Kasih is a feeling of joy, happiness toward someone or some object, it can also be toward an animal. That's kasih . . . Sayang is this: sayang toward a person, sayang toward an animal, sayang toward a car, toward a chair—the two are the same . . . Kasih-sayang is very strong sayang, or very kasih.*" 188

The first women's group tried to explain,

"The emotion of kasih-sayang, it's a feeling of cinta toward a person. For example, toward a child, a lover, a parent

—a feeling of love, a feeling of very strong sayang."

I then push for a distinction.

"The difference between kasih and sayang: 'you kasih the great, you sayang the small.' To 'kasih the great' means to respect them, as they are polite to us. The small get sayang."

Another woman says simply, *"Kasih-sayang, these two words can't be separated. Actually, both are internal things."*

And another says, *"I think that the two words are only a little different… certainly the words kasih and sayang are mutually dependent. There is a saying about gold: 'If gold is mixed with another metal, you feel kasih; if someone feels sayang, the gold is surely pure.'"* 189

The second women's group had even less success in this sort of analysis, but the first men's group, on the other hand, was quite definite:

"*Kasih arises in the heart and sayang shows up in deeds. For example, if we kasih a person, it will show up in deeds.*"

I ask is that kasih or kasihan?

"That's kasihan is it's directed at a suffering person, but kasih is different, in connection to the family, wants whatever is good for him." 190

And the second men's group put it this way:

"Kasih-sayang arises between husband and wife, sayang is for children or grandchildren, and kasihan is for someone who is suffering." 191

As for the Sanskrit asmara, Pak B said, *"Asmara—that's for a man and a woman."* Not for parents, I ask? *"Parents and children, that's not asmara. In fact, that would be shameful. Asmara, that's cinta, cinta asmara, a special cinta, from a man toward a woman, or also from a woman toward a man."* I ask, is the word asmara new? *"The origin—I'm not sure. From Sanskrit? From where? It's been in Indonesian a long time. Ah—an example of a sentence: 'Si Samsul Bahari and Siti Nurbaya were brought close together by asmara.' That means—their hearts were tied, their emotions were tied by mutual love. That's asmara… Asmara is when both strongly love each other."* 192

Dengki, Iri, Cemburu, "Envy," "Jealousy"

The questionnaire-based research in the 1980s indicated a cluster around *dengki* (dangki:m) that included *cemburu*. Dengki and its

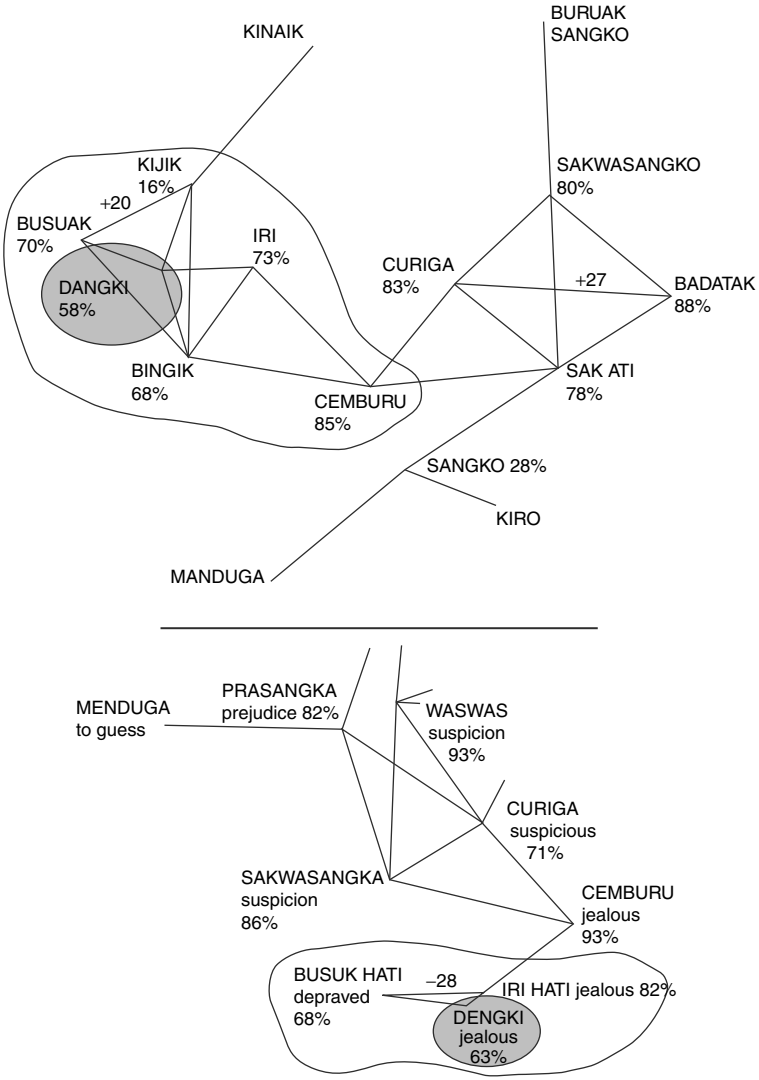


Figure 5.11 Dangki, iri, cemburu—"envy, jealousy"—above: Minangkabau, below: Indonesian.

Source: Diagrams 15.1,2 from Heider 1991a.

closest neighbor, *iri* hati (iri ati:m) are both caused by another being better off and result in negative emotions and active counteraction, while cemburu is caused by loosing a lover and results in active counteraction or just passivity. I had written,

> This area of the emotion space includes two closely related emotions, one resulting from unfavorably comparing oneself to another, the second resulting from (threatened) loss of a lover. These two are similar to Envy and Jealousy in English, but they have much sharper, more malicious outcomes in Indonesian, with relatively little of the contemplative hurt and sadness, which are the most typical outcomes of at least one version of the American English emotions. (1991a:221)

When I asked Pak B about dengki and iri hati, he said, "*They are the same, their aim is the same. Dengki is an unhappy emotion. When one sees a successful person, that's dengki…you want the person to meet misfortune. Iri hati—ah—usually, yes, the 'objek'* [in English] *or goal is the same, only iri hati is visible only in the heart. Iri hati never wants to hurt anyone.*" I say, what if you read about some rich movie star, is that iri hati? "*Ah no, that's not. Not iri hati. You want to be like them. That's not iri. Iri is an unpleasant emotion, Pak Karl. Not good.*" When I asked Pak B if there was dengki in the villages, he replied, "*There is dengki, every level of life has it, the life of the lower society, yes, farmers for example. The local traditional farmers have dengki from bad causes. For example, a little thing—a farmer has a rice field, the field is next to another man's field. This other field is fertile, with good water. Enough water so that the rice thrives. The farmer's field, somehow, because of inadequate fertilizer, whatever, is not fertile enough. In fact, the emotion of dengki arises. 'How come he flourishes and we don't?' He feels dengki…The next year he has a plan.. When the field is ripe, it is dug into, the wall is breached. Mr. Dengki makes a hole in it. So that all the water runs out. The result is that the field is no longer productive. That's dengki. When it's not productive anymore, the dengki man is relieved, happy. That's for sure a bad quality, not good. It's a sin, for sure a sin. And when the other sees it, he goes over and a fight develops, it's not good—on account of the bad act. There's a fight. If not a physical one, at least a shouting match. So, we have to avoid being dengki. How? By planting the malu emotion in the heart. If there is malu, it means that we have budi…without malu means there's no budi.*" 193

Gender Differences

The first women's focus group spoke of gender differences in dengki:

"Men take dengki seriously, they want to kill.

—If possible, men don't show it.

—It's not like women, who usually, according to our observations of social life, usually women are faster to feel cemburu, iri hati, anger also is faster, but as for men, they conceal it, so even though they feel cemburu, feel iri hati, feel dengki toward another, they still can handle it, but if it's women, they usually show it immediately."

But a few moments later, the same women's group explained that women keep emotions hidden:

"And so because too often they are hidden, suspicion develops in the heart.

—That's why in Indonesia here, women get older faster than men, because they always hide things.

—They just put up with things…

—But the emotion of dengki is an attribute of people that is hard to get rid of.

—It's coming form the heart.

—It's faith, malu is half a matter of faith, if the faith is lacking, then dengki arises, in fact iri arises." 194

The interviews elaborated on the implications of these words but were consistent with the earlier data. When I asked the first women's focus group about cemburu, everyone joined in:

"Cemburu, that's prasangka.

—one feels sakwasangka. One is prasangka, there's a good form and a bad form.

—That's 'to guess.'

—That's curiga, Pak Karl. Curiga berprasangka.

—It's because of was-was."

Thus, in an instant, without my prompting, they had named seven closely related words in the Minangkabau Indonesian map, but words that did not all seem to be related according to their English glosses:

Cemburu—"jealous"

Syakwasangka, was-was, and curiga—"suspicion"

Prasangka—"prejudice"
Duga—"to estimate"

Then the women continued, *"For example, Pak Karl, if a husband comes home often late at night, she is curiga about where he was, and a feeling of cemburu arises."* 195

Pak B emphasized the uncertainty of cemburu: *"Usually in cemburu one thinks someone else has damaged oneself. We think, or guess, or suspect someone else has hurt us. That's called cemburu. It's not certain. And example: a hurt in—ah!—'moral'* [in English] *in social interaction, usually it's the same for men and for women. I have a wife. I—when I go out, I socialize a lot, with men and also with women. Sometimes I socialize with women who are close. We are close. Even though in my heart there's no love for the woman, my wife sees me interacting with the woman and is cemburu."* 196

The second women's group said that cemburu could also be positive:

"But cemburu has a positive aspect, for example, she feels she is not smart enough because she sees another person who is smarter—

—she feels cemburu, and she studies hard to become smarter, she develops herself to a higher level." 197

The first men's focus group agreed that cemburu could be positive:

"It depends on the circumstances of the moment, the 'situasi.' Cemburu is usually used for kasih-sayang, if the husband has two wives, one wife is cemburu . . . if one has two wives, the older is cemburu toward the younger, so that one has to be more sayang with her, dividing attention . . . So cemburu usually comes from a feeling of not being loved [kasih-sayang]." 198

Gender Differences in "Jealousy"

Pak B was at first reluctant to acknowledge any gender differences in dengki or iri hati: *"About dengki and iri. I think, Pak Karl, there aren't any differences. Because it touches the soul. Women have dengki, men also are dengki."* I push: But maybe the causes are different? *"Yes, probably—the causes of iri—usually, women are more concerned with—ah!—yes—the good life, belongings . . . that's dengki, iri hati . . . but men, yes, . . . Success."* 199

The first women's group said,

"Women are much more cemburu than men."

Why women?

"—Maybe because of the nature of women, because they use emotions more than logic, that's really women's nature. We can't deny that women sooner resort to emotions, in fact they are more easily curiga, duga, was-was, sedih. Logic is less related to their hearts . . . Usually men think logically, their logic is fairly high . . . With women in fact, prasangka and was-was emerges. It's different with men, but women's nature, we can't deny it, in fact women easily cry, women have a tendency to cry in order to resolve all their problems, while men don't, they just talk."

I asked if men can control their emotions better?

"They certainly can, they can overcome, they can control them."

I ask, if there is self-control, what happens inside?

"The emotions are certainly there, but they are being held in. Women can't do that, Pak Karl, they just get cemburu." 200

The second women's group agreed:

"Most of the time cemburu [and here they call it a sifat, characteristic, not an emotion] *emerges quickly among men, they have more cemburu. If a girlfriend walks with someone, they feel* [here merasa, the word for emotion, is used] *cemburu and quickly become somewhat angry, and other things, cemburu buta arises. But actually she is walking with a relative or a friend but because he is in love with her, he feels unhappy and becomes cemburu."*

I ask what is cemburu buta, literally blind cemburu?

"That's baseless cemburu, it's not real." 201

Chapter 6
Conclusions

We can now revisit the issues laid out at the beginning of chapter 1. As ethnography we can begin with some methodological conclusions.

Elegance and Complexity

By now it will be clear that there is considerable variation in the ways these Minangkabau talk about emotions. Even if we wanted to impeach the testimony of those who made inconvenient contributions, we have no neutral authoritative basis to do so. I have assumed throughout that each of my informants was telling me the truth as they understood it. It does happen that people intentionally deceive their resident anthropologists, and some researchers who have discovered this mischief have even acknowledged it in print (e.g., Chagnon was fed false genealogies during his first months with the Yanomamo [1992]). But I am confident that these Minangkabau did not deliberately mislead me. And as a check on the possibility that I misunderstood them, I have included transcripts of their original Indonesian and Minangkabau statements on a Web site "Minangkabau/Indonesian emotion interviews."

In my 1991 *Landscapes of Emotion,* I did opt for more elegance, boiling the results of the questionnaires down to increasingly more concise statements that reflected a majority opinion, usually dropping out the divergent data. Thus, for example, I coded the statements from 60 respondents concerning the outcome of malu, "shame," as follows:

> 44 withdrawal/avoidance/silence
> 5 physical acts (head bowed, turned, hidden)
> 2 emotions (rendah diri, takut)
> 1 ego acts to improve the situation.

And I further summarized all the responses that had been given by Minangkabau (in Indonesian) and in Minangkabau as "Malu." This

is caused when ego does wrong, or has some stigma of poverty or a physical nature. In Minangkabau Indonesian public knowledge of ego's shortcoming is much more important than in Minangkabau (41 percent to 11 percent).

"The outcome is withdrawal/avoidance, especially in BI(M) [Indonesian spoken by Minangkabau], where it is 85%. The Emotiongenic score is very low—4% in each language." (1991a:308).

Now compare this with the section on malu in chapter 4, where three somewhat different but not always clearly differentiated senses of malu are teased out of the informants' statements. And even more striking example is the case of takut, which the dictionaries translate simply as "fear." It turns out to include both "fear" and the malu-like "shame." I now see that this complexity had been hinted at in the questionnaire responses of the first stage of the research (1991a:211–214), but it took these multiple interviews in the second stage of research to work it out in more satisfactory detail. The complexities of nafsu, "desire," also emerged only through the interview process.

All this is to justify both the research program and the style of reporting in this book. There is certainly a place for the dictionary style of elegance, the attempt to reduce a definition of a word in one language to a word or two or three in another. The third edition of the Echols-Shadily English-Indonesian dictionary (1989) is exemplary, and an invaluable tool for Anglophone's working in Indonesia. The Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings Indonesian-English dictionary (2004) is also necessary. Moussay's Minangkabau-Indonesian-French dictionary (1995) is a literary and ethnographic gem, placing Minangkabau words in their contexts with illustrations from oral and written Minangkabau. But the evidence presented in this book make it clear how complexly multivalent these emotion words can really be.

Once again let me repeat what it is that I am claiming for this picture of emotion and folk psychology: it is what I have worked out in many conversations with less than two dozen Minangkabau. It does not purport to represent all Minangkabau. There are indeed cultural generalizations that are valid for all Minangkabau, but a close analysis of the details of emotion and folk psychology constantly turns up local differences. For example, chapter 3 began with a discussion of the basic principle that "unfolding nature becomes the teacher." This concept seems to by expressed by Minangkabau everywhere and has much the same meaning for all. People may differ in the examples that they use, or in just how they take nature as their

model and inspiration. But the claim is a hallmark of Minangkabau thinking about themselves. It is no accident that the Minangkabau writer A. A. Navis used that saying as the title of his ethnography of his own people.

But next in chapter 3, we move to the Minangkabau phrase "raso jo pareso," which means emotion and inquiry, or reason. As it emerged through many discussions with my Minangkabau sample, the phrase refers to a complex appraisal-like interaction between the liver (the organ that is the seat of emotion) and the brain (considered to be the seat of reason), an interaction that precedes action. In my attempts to work out just what raso jo pareso referred to, many different people contributed to my understanding. Yet this meaning is not shared by all Minangkabau. Frederick Errington, who carried out his Minangkabau fieldwork a quarter of a century earlier than mine in a village on the shore of Lake Maninjau, some two hours by bus from Bukittinggi, reports a very different meaning of raso jo pareso:

> It is a characteristic Minangkabau habit while explaining something to make a few largely descriptive generalizations and then to lean back, smile, and say "Ah." This suggests that all is now clear when, at least to the Western observer, the question seems to have been only broached. The Minang term for this capacity of quick comprehension is raso jo pareso. (1984:107)

I heard much about "quick comprehension," but if anything, raso jo pareso came into play with more deliberate appraisal. In the example of the tiger suddenly appearing, there would be no need for raso jo pareso—one had to just act.

And Gerard Moussay, twice in his exemplary Minangkabau dictionary, gives the Indonesian for raso jo pareso as "rasa dan perasaan" and translates it into French as "bonne manieres, courtesie, affabilitie" (1995:875, 950). Here Moussay has clearly slipped, although elsewhere he translates the Minangkabau "pareso" into Indonesian as "periksa," to examine. But as he found the phrase to mean good manners, courtesy, and affability, we are faced with a third meaning of the phrase. It is both a strength and a weakness of Father Moussay's dictionary that he includes materials from nineteenth and twentieth centuries and from all parts of the Minangkabau world but rarely makes specific attributes of time or place.

It is possible that Moussay, Errington, or I have simply misunderstood our information and are just wrong, but I doubt it. As it

stands, I suggest that the Minangkabau phrase raso jo pareso at a very specific level means different things to different people in different places at different times. Yet, at a more general level each of these three meanings refers to aspects of Minangkabau folk psychology that are consistently reported (or at least not contradicted in reports): good manners, quick comprehension, and interaction between emotion and reason.

The apparent differences at the more specific cultural levels pose difficulties for regional comparisons. Michael Peletz, who has carried out extensive fieldwork on similar topics in Malaysia, has noted this. Peletz works in the state of Negeri Sembilan, on the southwest coast of the Malay peninsula, an area whose culture is strongly influenced by Minangkabau immigrants (e.g., there is a Minangkabau-like matrilineal tradition in Negeri Sembilan, in contrast to the bilateral social organization of most other peninsular Malays). Peletz quotes Errington as saying

> that Minangkabau interpretations of key elements of their culture and social universe are relatively "idiosyncratic" and "unsystematic," in that there is considerable variation and inconsistency in the content of their explanations, and insofar as there is relatively little concern with the manifestations and implications of such variability.

And then Peletz continues, "This is largely true of Negeri Sembilan, as well." (1993:164)

A detailed comparative study across Minangkabau, of the sort I have suggested above, would indeed be useful, but here I have mainly worked out a single manifestation of Minangkabau cultural ideas. We now return to the specific theoretical issues that were introduced in chapter 1.

The Cultural Context of Emotion

Repeatedly during this research, a conversation that began with consideration of a single emotion word soon led to talk about the cultural contexts of that emotion. As a result, this account of Minangkabau emotions has become an account that reaches much more broadly into Minangkabau culture. To be sure, it is a very particular account. It is an ethnography of the early twenty-first century present, and also at times draws on a remembered, or perhaps just an imagined, Minangkabau village culture of a generation

or more earlier. In many of its details it differs from the other ethnographies of Minangkabau that did not focus on emotion behavior. This is hardly a surprise, for it is predicted by the Rashomon Effect (cf. Heider 1988): an ethnographic account will be influenced by the theoretical interests and research framework that produces it.

It is worth noting that some of the most important ethnographies of emotion were almost accidental. Jean Briggs, whose book *Never in Anger* (1970) was the first ethnography of emotion, started out to study Inuit shamanism. It turned out that the group she lived with had become Christian and claimed that they no longer practiced shamanism. Briggs stayed on, and through her close observations and analyses of a series of incidents was made aware of the role of anger in Inuit life. Her account of anger, then, is firmly based in her own involvement in the daily domestic life of a small Inuit group.

So we see two approaches: this present study, which began with emotion and opened up a wealth of general ethnography, and Briggs' research, which began as broad ethnography and then focused in on emotion. In each case, emotion behavior was firmly placed in cultural context.

I began this book with Gregory Bateson's plea for such holistic contextualization in his New Guinea ethnography, *Naven* (1936):

> The emotional background is causally active within a culture, and no functional study can ever be reasonably complete unless it links up the structure and pragmatic working of the culture with its emotional flow or ethos. (1936:2)

I would now go even further and suggest that in order to understand village life one might well begin with emotions rather than such traditional entryways as genealogies, economics, or even religion. But as this study shows, the anthropological task of cultural contextualization is an essential contribution to the study of emotion. It is convenient to begin with a study of single emotions, but emotions only occur in complex contexts, and so the elucidation of such contexts must be the eventual goal.

Describing Emotions: Elegance versus Complexity

The technique of systematic discussions with several Minangkabau has brought out the complexity that lies behind emotion words. As we see in the extended descriptions of chapter 5, one emotion word

can cover several somewhat different meanings (see malu or segan, above), or even quite different meanings (see takut, above). And in every case we are led to the cultural position of these emotions in the mental concepts, or schemas, of the informants. As good as the dictionaries are, they cannot begin to handle the nuances that the informants describe. Anyone who has learned second languages—as each of these informants have—knows this at some level, and it becomes more apparent when undergoing questioning hour after hour by a foreign anthropologist. Some go as far as Pak A, who presented me with charts differentiating near synonyms within emotion clusters.

The Concept of Culture

My choice of the 21 informants as middle-class, middle-aged Minangkabau residents of the Bukittinggi area has defined the culture that I am describing. That culture might have been construed more narrowly by speaking with only men, or only women, or teenagers, or elders over 75, or farmers. It could have been broadened, to include the entire Agam district, or the entire heartland, or all Minangkabau in the province of West Sumatra, or even Indonesians or Indonesians plus Malaysians. People of any of these broader groups should recognize much of what I have described here but with increasing differences as the scope broadens. "Culture," the learned, shared ideas about behavior, can be recognized at many levels, defined broadly or narrowly, but it must be defined in meaningful terms and not simply as nationality.

Informant Agreement

Much of the complexity mentioned above comes from disagreements, or at least differing emphases from different informants and focus groups. We are speaking of a fairly uniform group of informants: married (for the most part), middle-aged, middle-class Minangkabau of the Bukittinggi area of the Agam district of the West Sumatra province of Indonesia. Yet their life experiences have varied. They grew up in somewhat differing circumstances, had different levels of formal education, and while some were or are schoolteachers interacting constantly with younger generations, some are or were bureaucrats interacting with their own generation, and some are housewives. On the basis of how they interjected English words, we know that some must speak good English. And some were more

versed in Islamic theology than others. Yet despite all this we could hardly have had a set of people that would have given us much more cultural uniformity. In retrospect, I could have spent more time learning about these informants' experiences so as to understand better their own individual schemas.

Culture: Imagined, Real, Psychological

If we consider culture as learned, shared ideas about behavior, we place the emphasis on the ideas, or schemas, or cultural models as being prior to behavior. We can observe and describe behavior, but we must analyze it to get at the cultural schemas driving it. One ethnographic approach is to begin with behavior and then through it to trace back to the schemas behind it. An alternate strategy is to listen to what people say about behavior and through, discussions and interviews, lead them to lay out their own understandings of that behavior. By using the second approach, the interviews, I was able to cover much more ground, getting a broader picture of Minangkabau emotions, than if I had been limited to what naturally occurring emotion behavior I could personally witness.

As is clear, this book reports "what people say" about emotion and closely related psychological features, or, more specifically, what they told one American anthropologist about these issues. Some of the discussions were about the present, some about a village past.

Matriliny

Matriliny is a prominent feature of Minangkabau identity for Minangkabau themselves, for other Indonesians, and of course in the anthropological literature. Thus it is striking that the main features of Minangkabau matriliny, namely membership in mother's clan, post-marriage residence, ownership and inheritance of land, houses, and heirlooms by matrilineage segments rarely emerged as factors in these discussions. Of course, these urban discussants had to a greater or lesser degree broken their ties with their village matrilineages. But yet they often spoke of other village matters. The one matrilineal feature that does come up often is the responsibility a man has to be the main mentor of his sisters' children.

To invoke the Rashomon Effect and say that I, as an outside male, did not trigger talk of matrilineal activity only begs the question of

why my focus on emotion elicited so much rich ethnography except in the realm of matriliny. I think that the answer is simply that one cannot expect any one cultural principle to be equally salient across all cultural realms.

Islam

Islam is frequently referred to as authority for emotion behavior by both men and women. This is in striking contrast to the general silence on the part of women as well as men about matriliny. The casual reader of these conversations might well miss the fact that Minangkabau are matrilineal, but would be constantly reminded that they are Muslim.

Cultural Consistency

Even as anthropologists have assumed a certain degree of congruity among the different traits of a culture, they have had to recognize that there are often incongruities or contradictory traits, principles, or beliefs within a single culture. Ruth Benedict pointed this out most forcibly in her account of two conflicting patterns of Japanese culture, the aesthetic and the martial, and she titled her book *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946). The Minangkabau, with their matrilineal social organization and patriarchal religion, have long been considered an example of such conflicting patterns. But Taufik Abdullah has argued that it is much too simple to see Minangkabau as having to reconcile an utterly irreconcilable adat and Islam. In taking a long historical view, he sees a "multiplicity of conflicts" within Minangkabau society, going far beyond the obvious adat-Islam contradictions. Abdullah thus invites a more fine-grained historical analysis of structural conflict within Minangkabau. But also it is worth noting the absence of conflict in certain areas. For example, although the Wahabi-inspired Padri Wars of the early nineteenth century "purified" Islam in the Minangkabau heartland, the emphasis was on eliminating such practices as cockfighting, men's long hair, and black clothing (the Padris wore white). Yet such traits as the matrilineal social system were left essentially intact and allowed to slowly accommodate to Islamic patriarchy.

However, in the folk psychology of these Minangkabau informants, there is little hint of the sort of fine-tuned analysis that

Abdullah recommends. Yet they are very aware of both adat and Islamic patterns, often mentioning one and then the other, even pointing out contradictions, and at times trying to reconcile the two.

There are, however, a number of practices, many of them clearly magical, that also emerge in the interviews. These are quite explicitly labeled as superstition, non- or anti-Islamic, and disavowed, even as they are described in detail, often enthusiastically. Much of this magic has to do with emotion: love magic, antilove magic, other sorts of longing, revenge, and the like.

In short, it seems reasonable to recognize a pattern of beliefs and practices that are not part of formal Islam and have no direct basis in Minangkabau adat. They constitute a fourth set of schemas held by Minangkabau. Thus, we can recognize the foundational themes of Minangkabau culture as adat, Islam, the teachings of nature and magic. The magical theme is particularly manifest in:

—semiprecious ring stones that enhance or diminish the emotions of the wearer or another
—poison that destroys love, and its counterpoison
—causing a skin disease in an enemy
—means to arouse love or nostalgic longing:
the music of the saluang flute or the buluh rindu flute
ring stones
—twirling a human skull like a top while using spells to hurt someone
—ideas of orang halus, a unsubstantiated spirit-like person
—particularly supernatural beings:
dukun—spirit medium, healer, dealer in magical potions
palasik—particularly vengeful spirit
pawan—person with power to summon powerful creatures, especially tigers

Magic: Fact or Fantasy

The claim that magic plays a prominent role in Minangkabau folk psychology is based on much information of various sorts that emerged during the interviews. I never directly encountered such magic, although I was once offered an opportunity to talk with an orang halus (the ghost of an American professor who had disappeared while in the area), and I did observe plantings of cordyline, the magical plant of the Austronesian and Papuan South Pacific, in

cemeteries and rice fields. I had inconclusive discussions about ring stones. And, when David Lyon was studying the Minangkabau martial art (silek) in 2000, he went through a chicken blood ceremony to protect him from knife wounds (2002:33).

The question comes down to: how commonly does magic behavior actually take place in Minangkabau? I do not know. But it is certainly a part of the folk psychology as presented by these Minangkabau to this American anthropologist. In Michael Peletz' description of a Minangkabau-related village in Malaysia, magic and cures for magic are an active part of life and thoroughly intertwined with Islamic beliefs and practices (1993). But Peletz is talking about the period around 1980. Most of his practitioners were already old, and he expressed doubt that their knowledge (ilmu) would be passed on. It is certainly not too far-fetched to suggest that Peletz and I are describing different stages in the decay of similar traditions of magic and sorcery as they were being pushed out by more orthodox Islamic practice and thinking.

Figurative Speech

Figurative speech is a rich source of Minangkabau talk about emotion. This is an integral part of the Minangkabau pattern of indirection, a pattern that is not just commonly employed, but actually taught and promoted. And emphasis is placed not only on the skill of using indirection, but also on the ability to detect the use of indirection by others. Of course, many cultures use indirection in discourse, ranging from figurative speech to irony and sarcasm. But surely few are so openly devoted to indirection as are the Minangkabau.

Unique Emotions or Nuanced Differences

One of the most fascinating aspects of emotion research is the search for a culturally unique emotion in some culture. Often cited candidates are liget, in Ilongot (Rosaldo 1980) and amae in Japanese (Doi 1973). Yet, these emotions are readily understandable when described in English, even if English speakers do not recognize the particular culture-specific package of denotation and connotation, the cultural schema. Previously, I discussed several differences between Minangkabau emotions and American-English emotions (1991a:112–114). Here I have spent many pages teasing out the

meanings of Minangkabau emotions and claiming a Minangkabau-specific pattern of emotions, but I would not go so far as to claim that any are breathtakingly unique.

Individualism, Groupism, and Emotion

A general principle holds that the broader the cultural generalization, the less useful it is. However, this disavowal of sweeping statements does not always hold. The claim that recent European culture tends to emphasize the individual while Asian cultures tend to emphasize groupism actually holds up fairly well (see C. Geertz 1983:59, Whiting 1977). I have found that it accounts well for significant differences between Indonesian and American movies, especially when one is an intentional copy, or remake, of another (1991b:30–34, 122–132). This contrast has been applied to emotions in suggesting that Asian or Pacific Islander emotions are more interactional, while Westerners think of emotions more as inner states. I generally endorsed this on the basis of my Minangkabau data but pointed out that the "surprise" emotions like terkejut were "on the whole not concerned with interaction" (1991a:114–115) And comparing Indonesian with American and European scenarios, it turned out that overall, the scenarios for the Indonesian emotions were not strikingly more oriented toward interaction.

These present data affirm that terkejut ("surprise") is much more inner state than interactional. However, the overall picture of Minangkabau society that emerges from the interviews is one that is exceedingly concerned with interaction. People did often volunteer that under the influence of one or another emotion the "face changes," becoming red or pale, but there was little talk about inner bodily sensations, and much is made of peoples' apprehensions about the reactions of their kith and kin. Taking all this testimony about emotion and folk psychology together, one gets a picture of tight little village societies in which everyone is observing and judging everyone else, and in which the strongest sanctions are shunning and even exiling, that is, cutting the offender off from social life.

Rasa Theory: Clusters versus Process Chains

Virtually all nonanthropological Western research has approached emotion in one of two ways: as single-word concepts, where

emotions are understood as being denoted by single emotion words and treated as behavioral isolates, like anger, or surprise, or pride. Another approach that underlies my 1991a analysis of the Minangkabau emotion landscape, considers "an emotion" as more like an area that includes some variation and is labeled with several closely related words. For example, there is an anger area that includes words like anger, fury, and annoyance that denote slightly different forms of the emotion. In this approach the emphasis is on some kind of sorting operation, finding similarities among emotion words so as to establish a set of words, called cluster, or family, of closely related words. But exhaustive explorations of such emotion clusters are rare. Even a reasonably complete English dictionary, the *Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary*, tenthth edition, includes, for example, six words in the "anger" entry. It labels them "syn" and follows with a brief explanation of why they are not in fact synonyms (1994:44). This dictionary has comparable entries for only a few other emotions: seven "syn" for fear, five for surprise.

In the first stage of this research, one of the major goals was to create cognitive maps that laid out the landscape of Minangkabau emotion words as clusters of closely related words and to locate each cluster in relation to its nearest neighbors. Other emotion researchers have used hierarchical cluster analysis, represented in print by branching tree diagrams, or even three-dimensional representations of multidimensional scaling analysis (see Heider 1991a:30–40 for a discussion of these approaches).

In the first phase of this research I was working out such emotion clusters, and then using the maps to ask Minangkabau to differentiate among closely related words by describing their scenarios. This exercise worked well, and the Minangkabau had little difficulty thinking in terms of these clustering's of emotion words. However, it turned out that in the scenarios for some emotion words, other emotion words appeared either in the descriptions of antecedent events or outcomes, or both (1991a:97–112). I used the term "way stations" for those emotions that produced as outcomes other emotions. I called those that rarely led to other emotions "end points."

It was striking that those emotions that were most strongly end points were mainly basic emotions like sad, anger, fear, surprise, and happy. Significantly, it is just these emotions that most researchers study if they look at just a few emotions. Thus, if the Minangkabau pattern would hold across cultures, it is unlikely that the way station effect would be noticed in ordinary research.

In this research design, which involves developing scenarios for many emotions, I have included those that turned out to be strongly way stations, that is, where a quarter to a half of their outcomes were other emotions. Table 6.1 lists those clusters with the highest percentage of emotion-as-outcome, the "best" way stations, and those with the lowest percentage of emotion-as-outcome, the end points:

As these way stations emerged in the analysis of the first stage of the research, it seemed possible that they were simply what would be found when investigating nonbasic emotions. However, the present interview material suggests a more interesting interpretation: when we had talked about similar emotions, running through members of the same cluster, it was at my prompting. But without my prompting, people discussed how one emotion would lead to another. Some people even had particular terms for these sequential relationships.

Rasa Theory (see above, pp. 91–6), as I am using it, identifies sequential connections between emotions acted on stage with their counterparts that are evoked in and felt by audiences. Although these are certainly sequentially linked emotions, the pairs of acted

Table 6.1 The strongest and weakest way stations emotion clusters. Percentages of outcomes that are other emotions

Minangkabau	Minangkabau-speaking Indonesian
48% "Sensitive" (TASINGGUANG)	70% "Respectful" (SOPAN)
37% "Mocking" (EJEK)	50% "Sensitive" (TERSINGGUNG)
35% "Jealousy" (DANGKI)	41% "Jealousy" (DENGKI)
33% "Teased" (SINDIA)	36% "Teased" (SINDIR)
29% "Respectful" (SOPAN)	35% "Mocking" (EJEK)
24% "Restless anticipation" (RUSUAH)	28% "Restless anticipation" (RUSUH)
12% "love"	
11% "happy"	11% "love"
10% "disappointment"	8% "disappointment"
9% "indecision"	7% "fear, confused, happy"
8% "surprised"	6% "surprised"
4% "sad, anger, fear"	4% "anger, deceived"

Source: Heider 1991a:107.

and felt emotions are still similar members of the same clusters. Our examples from the two men's focus groups were sad evoking tersentuh, "touched," and sad evoking lintuah (a Minangkabau word for "sad").

Similarly, both Pak A and Pak B said that bangga, the good sort of pride, could become sombong, the bad sort of pride. Again, this is a similar pair linked sequentially. And Pak A said that kesal precedes marah—if not controlled, kesal could become marah. But both these words are in the same "anger" cluster. Pak B remarked on the similarity of kesal and marah, describing kesal as the "younger brother" of marah, "below" marah, "gentler" than marah. And both Pak A and Pak B said that anger leads to dendam, "revenge."

It was Pak A who described ngeri, "horrible," as a way station to takut, "fear," saying that "ngeri is sort of like a ladder rung, the first rung to get to takut. It begins with ngeri." All of these links are suggestive of a real concern with the sequential relationships between emotions.

I now suggest that although Minangkabau are quite able to think about the similarities of emotions that can be pictured in my maps of clusters of like emotions, these semi-structured interviews provided data indicating that they are more inclined to link emotions that occur in behavioral sequences, one generating another. The full realization of this only came to me after I had left West Sumatra, as I was analyzing the data from the interviews. I would not claim that the Minangkabau have an entirely unique culture of emotion, but it certainly seems that they can draw on a folk theory of emotion as process in addition to one that emphasizes categories of similar emotions. This is a question that needs more research, going beyond interviews to careful analysis of actual emotion behavior.

There have been hints of something similar in studies of emotion elsewhere. Hollan and Wellenkamp, writing about the Toraja of Sulawesi, in Indonesia (1994) have noted links between anger and shame. Lutz, for the Ifaluk of Micronesia, says that

> the role of song in the generation of valued behavior is thought to stem from the fact that justifiable anger causes fear (metagu) in the person at whom it is directed. Thus, song would not have its effect on the moral life of the community were fear not to be evoked by it. (1988:167). And, further,
>
> "The importance of these culturally constructed exchanges was exemplified in the Ifaluk elaboration of a reaction of metagu (fear/anxiety) to the song (justifiable anger) of others, or the reaction of

song or bosu (excitement/jealousy) to others' ker (happiness/excitement)". 1988:212.

But if these are indeed instances of sequential emotions, they are but pale shadows of a Rasa Theory–based pattern discernable with Minangkabau. In short, we have two sorts of linkages: the Rasa Theory model where one emotion evokes another, often from another cluster, and an Escalating Model, where one emotion can intensify into another of the same cluster (as, in English, annoyance-anger-fury-going ballistic).

Empathy and Concealment

Finally, inspired by a recent upsurge of anthropological interest in the phenomenon of empathy, I shall mention some Minangkabau ideas that speak to that issue (see, for example, the December 2008 issue of *Ethos*, edited by C. Jason Throop and Douglas Hollan). These Minangkabau often spoke of tajam, the sharpening of ability to read another's emotions. This was taught especially to boys by their mother's brothers in their villages. That talent could also be called, somewhat obscurely, "Knowing the twists and turns." And in this context it was said of an expert that his perception was so clear that he could see a fish flash in the water and tell if it was male or female. Testing the boys with riddles was one way of sharpening their skills.

But an element of the tajam schema claims it to be a Minangkabau village skill, lost (or "dulled") when a youth goes abroad. Yet, going abroad (merantau) is another valued enterprise for a Minangkabau youth. This apparent conflict between tajam and merantau was never addressed in the interviews, and I neglected to follow it up.

There does not seem to be a good term for "empathy" that covers all the same semantic ground as does the English word. "Kasih" does have the sense of fond concern. It is frequently used in relation to infants and even, for example, for an adult who trips on an uneven sidewalk.

Although the contributors to the Troop and Hollan empathy collection focus on the positive aspects of empathy, they do mention a sort of antiempathy, a concealment of one's own emotions from others. Minangkabau are much more interested in this masking. A favorite saying refers to "the tiger in the belly, the goat comes out of the mouth," when inner anger is masked by sweet words (supposedly goats' voices are sweet.)

And of the four registers of speech, Jalan Melereng is used to conceal one's feelings in sensitive, even potentially dangerous talk with, for example, in-laws. And only a few people recognized a potential conflict in the Moslem prohibition on hypocrisy, or talk at odds with one's inner feelings. Much more could be discovered about Minangkabau ideas of empathy and antiempathy. Hollan, in the last sentence of the *Ethos* collection, puts it well:

"It is well and good for anthropologists to think about how we attempt to empathize with others, but it might be even more important for us to know how others imagine or allow themselves to be known and understood." (2008:487)

Appendix

Figurative Speech Examples (Indonesian language examples precede Minangkabau language examples)

marah/berang ("anger")

1. rasa marah, mendidih darahnya (when angry, the blood boils)
   raso berang, mengalagak darahnyo
2. panas hati (hot liver)
   paneh hati
3. sempit hati (narrow, tight liver)
   sampik hati
4. naik pitam (flaring up, rising of dizziness)
   naia pitam
5. naik darah (flaring up, rising of blood)
   naia darah
6. harimau di perut, kambing keluar mulut (there is a tiger in the stomach, but a goat comes out of the mouth. One feels angry inside, but one speaks sweetly like a goat)
   harimau di peruik, kambiang kaluah muluik
7. musang berbulu ayam (the civet cat is chicken feathered—disguised as a chicken—wolf in sheep's clothing—the enemy pretends friendship, but is ready to hurt)
8. musuh dalam selimut (the enemy under the same blanket—pretends friendship, but is dangerous)
9. palak-palak miang (hot skin as from touching a miang nettle—having hidden anger—[Echols gives anger as the first meaning of palak])
10. anak sinyamuk dalam padi — the small animal is in the rice field
    cuko didalam pabarasan — vinegar is in the salad
    bia bakucamuak di dalam hati — although there is fury in the heart
    dimuko usah tampak — nothing shows in the face

cerdik/cadiak ("clever")

1. kalau cadiak, urang ndak kabatanyo, bagak urang indak kamalawan (the clever person isn't questioned, the brave person isn't attacked)

dendam ("revenge") (this has elements of anger implied, hence close to the above examples)

1. api dalam sekam (fire smoldering in the rice husks—there is anger inside, but it can't be seen—but he/she will get revenge eventually)
   api dalam sakam

This saying was often linked to dendam, but once Pak A used it in connection with love between two young people that was never expressed. This exemplifies the ways in which Minangkabau figurative speech can be used creatively, opportunistically, to make a point. Meanings are not totally fixed.

2,3. Musang berbulu ayam (a civet cat in chicken feathers)
musuh dalam selimut (an enemy under the blanket)
Both of these, like the preceding, are about hidden resentment.

kacau ("confusion")

1. seperti Cino karam (like a Chinese shipwreck—cf. English: a Chinese fire drill)
   bak Cino karam
2. payung tanggal kasau (the umbrella looses its ribs—it's all messed up—of a situation that is seriously out of order, especially a social group—payung/umbrella is a metaphor for a local kin group in Minangkabau social organization)
   payuang tangga kasau

kasih-sayang-cinta/kasiah/sayang/cinto ("love")

1. seperti bulan empat belas (like a full moon—fourteenth day moon)
   bak bulan ampek baleh
2. seperti pinang dibelah dua (like an areca nut cut in half—both faces show the same pattern,
   the two people are just alike)
   bak pinang dibalah duo
3. air di daun keladi (water on a taro leaf—it disappears quickly—love is fleeting)
   aia di daun kaladi
4. kasih ibu sepanjang jalan, kasih anak sepanjang penggalan (a mother's love lasts the whole way, but the child's love lasts only for a bit)
   kasiah ibu sapanjang jalan, kasiah anak sapanjang panggalan

malu ("shame/guilt/embarrassment")

1. membungkus tulang dengan daun keladi (wrap the bones in a taro leaf—it will soon tear, everyone will see the bones and you will be shamed)
   mambungkuik tulang jo daun kaladi
2. malu-malu kucing (a cat's shame/embarrassment—it wants something—e.g., the milk—but pretends shyness)
   malu-malu kuciang
3. yang sakit kata, yang malu tampak (words can hurt someone, if it is visible to all, shame)
   nan sakik kato, nan malu tampak
4. gading berpina, baling berkikih (the elephant's tusks are turned down, the tiger's stripes are scratched off—the power of the leader is stripped away, and he is shamed)
   gadiang bapina, baliang bakikih
5. Kaca pecah, minyak tabung, bau tabur ke nagari (the bottle breaks, the oil/kerosene is spilled, the smell spreads throughout the community—and you are shamed)
   kaco pacah, minyak tabuang, baun tabia ba ka nagari
6. (the water buffalo wallows in the mud, and everyone gets muddy—shame spreads to the whole group)
   [Minangkabau only:] sikua kabau bakumbang, sadonyo kana luaknyo
7. malu tercoreng di kening (shame is written in charcoal across his fore head—so everyone can see it)
   malu tacoreng di kaniang
8. daripada perputih mata lebih baik perputih tulang (better have whitened bones than whitened eyes—better be dead than pine away where everyone can see you and shame you)
   daripado baputiah mato labiah baiak baputiah tulang
9. tebal telingga (thick ears)
   taba talinggo
10. merobek baju di dada (a torn shirt on his chest—to be seen in public with a torn shirt)
    cabiak baju di dado
11. muluik tabua dapek di sumbeik, muluik manusia indak bisa disumbeik (you can stop the mouth of a drum, but you can't stop the mouths of people—and so they will gossip, and you will be shamed)
12. Kok hilang raso jo pareso, bak kayu lungga pangabek (if you loose reason and shame, it's like a bundle of firewood come untied)

rindu ("nostalgia")

1. rumput di halaman sudah tinggi (the grass in the yard is already high—it's time to come home)
   rumpuik di halaman alah tinggi

2. pungguk merindukan bulan (the owl longs for the moon—hopeless longing)
   pungguik marindukan bulan
3. hujan emas di nagari orang, hujan batu di nagari kami, namun kampung jauh (it rains gold in foreign lands, but it rains stones on our land, but we are far from home)
   hujan ameh di nagari urang, hujan batu di nagari awak, namun kampuang takana juo
4. (however far the egret flies, it always returns to its nest)
   [Minangkabau only:]sajauah-jauah tabang bangau, baliaknyo kakai bangan juo
5. nasi dimakan raso sakam, aia diminum raso duri (the rice you eat tastes like husks, the water you drink tastes like thorns—i.e., when you are far from home)

sedih/sadiah ("sad")

1. Mulut saya berisi air, dan perut saya berisi batu (my mouth is full of water, and my stomach is full of stones)
   muluik den barisi aia, paruik den barisi batu
2. mulutku bagio disimpul batu (my mouth is stopped with stones)
   muluik den raso disampa jo batu
3. makan hati berulam jantung (to eat liver with heart as a side dish—to pile on the sadness)
   makan hati barulam jantuang
4. awan mengandung hujan (the clouds hold rain)
   awan manganduang hujan
5. hatiku bagai disayal sembilu (my heart is sliced with a bamboo knife)
   hati den raso disaya sembilu

senang/sanang ("happy")

1. mukanya seperti bulan purnama (a face like a full moon)
   mukonyo saroman bulan purnama
2. seperti kera dapat mainan (like a monkey that has gotten a toy)
   saroman kara dapek mainan
3. seperti mendapat durian runtuh (like finding a ripe fallen durian fruit)
   saroman mandapek durian runtuah
4. seperti mendapat tebu rebah (like finding an already-cut sugarcane)
   saroman mandapek tabu rabah

sombong ("arrogance/pride")

1. hari panas lupo kacang dengan kulitnya (when the day becomes hot, the peanut forgets its shell—when things get good, he forgets where he came from)
   karanyo hari a lapaneh lupo kacang di kuliknyo
2. makin berisi, makin runduk—ilmu padi (the fuller, the lower—the wisdom of the rice—the more one knows the more humble—less sombong—one is)
   makin barisi, makin runduak
3. bagaikan kacang direbus satu (like a peanut being boiled by itself—it jumps arrogantly all around the pot)
   bagaikan kacang dirabuik ciek
4. besar pasak daripada tiang (a big nail driven into a small post—especially in an economic sense—someone who spends more than he/she earns—too big for one's britches)
   gadang pasak daripado tiang
5. air beriak tanda tidak dalam (rippling water means that it is shallow—a big show indicates there's not much there)
   aia bariak tando indak dalam
6. tong kosong nyaring bunyinya (an empty barrel makes a loud noise, cf. Shakespeare)
   tong kosong nyaring bunyinyo
7. seperti katak tempurung (like a frog under a coconut shell—it thinks that it fills the universe)
   saroman goncek dibawah tempuruang
8. tinggi ruok dari botol (the foam rises high from the bottle—but even though it climbs high, it has no substance)
9. karano tinggi lonjak, pasuak kopiah (he/she jumps very high and ruins his/her hat—the foolishness of ambition)

takut/takuik ("fear")

1. seperti bulan kesiangan (like the moon at midday—very pale)
   saromon bulan kesiangan
2. seperti kucing dibawah lidi (like a cat under a palm leaf rib—expecting to be beaten)
   saromon kuciang dibawah lidi
3. kalau takut di ujung bedil, lari ke pangkanya (if you are afraid at the mouth of the gun, run to its rear)
   kalau takuik di ujung badia, lari kapanganyo

4. jika takut di lembur pasang, jangan berumah di tepi pantai (if you are afraid of the rising tide, don't live on the beach)
   jiko takuik di lambur pasang, jan barumah di tapi pantai
5. takut karena salah, berani karena benar (afraid when doing something wrong, but brave when doing the right thing—being afraid that people will see and he/she will be shamed—the sense of malu hidden in takut)

terkejut/takajuik ("surprise")

1. habis darahku (my blood was finished)
   habih darah den
2. petir di siang hari (thunder at noon—very unusual)
   patia siang hari

tersinggung/tasingguang ("offended" "touched"—both the emotion and the physical act)

1. tasingguang kanaiak, talantuang katurun (you get brushed past going upstairs, you get nudged going down—life has its little annoyances, don't be so sensitive)

Glossary

(see Index for page number references)

Adat—custom, traditional norms

Agam—one of three districts of the Minangkabau heartland in West Sumatra, around Bukittinggi

Akal—(from the Arabic) reason

Alam—nature, the world

Alam terkembang jadi guru—a key Minangkabau saying: "Unfolding nature becomes our teacher"

Angkuh—"proud"

Asmara—(Sanskrit) "love"

Bhava—lived emotions

Bahaya—fear

Bangga—"pride" (a good sort of pride)

Bangsawan—aristocratic

Baso-basi—good manners

Benci—"hate"

Bertinggi—virtue

Buang—thrown away, exiled

Budi—"character"

Buluh perindu—a magic flute arousing nostalgia (rindu)

Cemas—"afraid"

Cemburu—"jealousy"

Cerdik—"clever"

Cinta—"love"

Congak—"proud"

Dandam—Minangkabau—to hold a grudge

Datuk—important clan leader

Dendam—revenge

Dendam asmara—unrequited love

Dengki—"envy"

Diasah—sharpened

Galir—"glib"

Gentar—"shaking with fear"

Halus—refined

Hati—literally, the liver; the seat of the emotions

Heran—"surprised"

Ilmu—knowledge, science, wisdom, magic

Iman—(Arabic) faith

Iri—"envy"

Jalan—road (in the following, a way of behavior)

Jalan Melereng—behavior toward a close in-law

Jalan Mendaki—behavior upwards, toward a superior

Jalan Mendatar—behavior on the level, toward an equal

Jalan Menurun—behavior descending, toward an inferior

Jiwa—soul

Kagum—"surprised"

Kampung—a cluster of houses, a hamlet

Kangen—"longing"

Karunia—"gift, grace"

Kasih—"nurturance, love"

Kata—word, speech, way of speaking (see jalan)

Kecut—"fear"

Kesal—"anger" preceder

Kodrat—inborn character

Kuatir—"afraid"

Kucil—shunned, not spoken to

Larek—banishment

Latah—hyper-startle syndrome

Licik—sly

Lima Puluh Kota—"the fifty villages" = one of three districts in the Minangkabau heartland, around Payahkumbuh

Luhak—traditional district—the Minangkabau heartland is composed of three luhak: Agam, Lima Puluh Kota, and Tanah Datar

Malu—"shame"

Mamak—mother's brother, head of one's matrilineal clan

Marah—"anger"

Merantau—migration to the rantau, beyond the heartland; a famous Minangkabau practice

Minangkabau—the matrilineal Muslims of West Sumatra, Indonesia

Munafik—(Arabic) hypocrisy

Nafsu—(from Arabic) "desire, lust"

Negeri—the most significant traditional Minangkabau sociopolitical unit, a small fiercely independent territory of a few hundred or a few thousand people.

Ngeri—"shame"

Otonomi daerah—regional autonomy

Pak—term of respect for older or higher-status male

Panca indera—(from Sanskrit)—the five senses

Pandai—smart

Pantun—rhyming sets of couplets, usually figurative speech

Pelit—"stingy"

Penghulu—an important clan leader

Periksa—examination

Pongah—"proud"

Rasa—(Indonesian, from Sanskrit; raso:m)—the root of Indonesian and Minangkabau words about emotion

Rasa Theory—the first millennium C.E. poetics developed in northern India, dealing with emotions portrayed on stage and evoked in audiences.

Raso jo pareso—Minangkabau—"emotion" and "reason"—a key dynamic
Rindu—"nostalgia"

Salah—bad, wrong, sin

Sayang—"nurturance, love"

Segan—"shame"

Semangat—soul matter

Senyum—smile

Silek—(silat:i) the Minangkabau martial art/dance genre

Sisih—shunning

Sombong—"arrogant, proud"

Sthayi—permanent or primary emotions

Sumbang—transgressions of various sorts

Syariah—(Arabic)—Islamic law

Tahu—"to know"

Tajam—sharp—literally and figuratively

Takabue—"proud"

Takut—"fear, shame"

Takwa—(Arabic)—piety

Tanah Datar—one of the three districts in the Minangkabau heartland, around Batu Sangkar

Taragak—"nostalgia"

Tatacara—good etiquette

Tatakrama—good etiquette

Tenggang rasa—controlling oneself so as to be considerate of others

Terkejut—"surprise"

Tersentuh—"to be touched"

Tersinggung—"offended"

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Index

Abdullah, Taufik, 17, 49–50, 212
Abu-Lughod, Lila, 3
adat, "custom," 18
  and Islamic law, 49
alam terkembang jadi guru, "unfolding nature is the teacher," *see* nature
Amir, M.S., 17, 42
amok, "violent outburst," 87
"anger," *marah*, 151–166
Appadurai, Arjun, 91
"arrogant," *sombong*, 14, 120–127
Azrial, A., 42

Barbour, R., 31
Bateson, Gregory, 21, 37, 209
Benamou, Marc, 91
Benda-Beckmann, F., 16
Benda-Beckmann, K., 16
Benedict, Ruth, 16, 191, 212
Bernard, H. R., 32
Biella, Peter, 31
Blackwood, E., 16
Bogardus, E.S., 31
Boswell, James, 107
Brenneis, Donald, 91
Briggs, Charles, 36–37
Briggs, Jean, 20, 23, 209
budi, "character", 59–62

Casey, M., 16
Chadwick, R.J., 17
Chagnon, N.A., 205
Chari, V.K., 92
Cole, Paula Murray, 91
culture
  consistency, 9
  definition, 5, 43–46, 210
  in this research, 6
  versus society, 5, 45

D'Andrade, Roy G., 44
"desire," *nafsu*, 185–193
Dobbin, Christine, 9, 13, 17, 55
Doi, T., 9, 75, 214
Drakard, J., 17
Dundes, Alan, 54

Echols, John, 59, 67, 131, 156, 170, 181, 206
Eichelman, D.F., 185–187
Ekman, Paul, 20, 104, 109
emosi as "emotion" or "anger," 89
emotion, analyses of Indonesian clusters of
  dendam, "hidden enmity," 166–170
  dengki, "envy," 198–203
  kasih, *saying*, "love, nurturance," 193–197
  malu, "shame, guilt," 127–142
  marah, "anger," 151–166
  nafsu, "desire," 185–193
  rindu, "nostalgia," 175–183
  sombong, "arrogance," 120–127
  takut, "fear, shame," 142–146
  terkejut, "surprise," 170–174
  tersinggung, "offended," 146–150
emotions
  as clusters, not single words, 26
  cultural context of, 2–4
  culture-specific, 10, 214
  elegant versus complex

emotions—*Continued*
descriptions, 4
flow of (as of 1980s), 28
flow of (as of 2000), 28
isolated versus grouped, 218
and politics, 5
regulating, 96–100
versus *perasaan*, 7, 113–114
empathy, 11, 219–220
end stations, see *rasa* theory
"enmity, hidden," *dendam,* 166–170
"envy," *dengki*, 198–203
Erb, Cynthia, 123
Errington, F., 44, 207
Errington, S., 75–76, 79

Fananay, Ismet, 39
"fear," *takut*, 142–146
Federspiel, H.M., 162, 188
Fielding, Henry, 107
figurative speech, 9–10, 102–109, 214
Bible, 106
English 18th century, 107–109
examples, 221–226
"hidden enmity," 166
Fischer-Nguyen, K., 52, 127
folk psychology, 47–48
budi, 59–62
latah, 85–87
personality concepts, 58–62
four
as pattern number, 54–55, 96–100
"knowing the four," 96–100
Frey, J.H., 16, 31

Gardner, Howard, 69
Geertz, Clifford, 102, 185, 187–188, 215
Geertz, Hildred, 85
gender, 83–87
geography and personality, 79–83
Gerow, E., 92
Goddard, C., 4, 116, 117, 181, 188
Graves, E. E., 16
groupism, 10
see also individualism

Hadler, J., 17
Hefner, Robert, 8
Heider, Paul, 33
Hejmadi, A., 92
Hellman, Philip, 101
Hoesterey, James B., 17
holism, 13
Hollan, Douglas, 3, 30, 44, 45, 69, 218, 219–220
Hood, M., 109
"hypocracy," *munafik*, 97, 162

Ilyas, A., 17, 42, 55, 96
indirection, 97–100
individualism versus groupism, 10, 215
Ingalls, D.H.H., 92
inner state versus interaction, 215
intelligences, 62–75
cerdik, "cleverness," 64–67
galir, 69–74
tajam, "sharp," 67–69
tenggang rasa, "considerate," 74–75
interviews, 30–37
focus groups, 30–35
solo interviews, 35–37
Irvine, J., 100
Islam, 8–9, 212
controlling anger, 162–163

Jankoviak, W.R., 90, 195

Kahin, A., 15, 17
Kamerling, L., 31
Kammen, M., 16, 191
Karim, W. J., 187
Kartomi, M. J., 17
Kato, T., 17, 50
Kieth, A. B., 92
Kim, U., 48
King Kong arrogance, 123
Kirkpatrick, John, 3, 48

Klopfer, L., 17
Kovecses, Zoltan, 9, 29, 79, 102–109
Krier, J., 16
kris, "knife," 77

Lakoff, G., 9, 29, 79, 102–109
latah, "hyperstartle", 85–87
Levenson, Robert, 20
Levy, Robert, 3, 7, 20
Lim, Kim-Hui, 62
"love," *kasih, saying*, 193–198
Lukens–Bull, R., 8
Lutz, Catherine, 3, 9, 20, 218

magic, 18, 213–214
  bamboo flute, 177, 181–182
  love magic, 177
  poison, 168
  ring stones, 100–102
  spinning skull, 169
martial arts, 48
masking emotion, 156–158
Masson, J. L., 92, 93
matriliny, 7–8, 19–20, 211
Mauss, M., 63
metaphor, *see* figurative speech
migration, *see* Minangkabau
Mead, Margaret, 21, 37
Merton, R. K., 31
Miksic, J., 17
Miller, B. S., 92
Minangkabau, 13–18
  architecture, 15
  contradictions between Islam and matriliny, 16
  culture defined, 43
  egalitarianism versus stratification, 14
  emotion theory, 89–113
  food, 15
  geography and regional variation, 79–83
  indirection, 97–100
  intelligences, 62
  martial arts, 48
  "migration", *merantau*, 15, 17, 63–64
  origin myth (water buffalo fight), 72–73
  studies by Minangkabau scholars, 42–43
  versus Javanese, 7, 62, 101
  versus USA, 14
Minnick, M., 91
Morgan, D. L., 31, 32
Moussay, G., 17, 43, 50, 67, 74, 125, 157, 174, 181, 195, 206, 207
Muis, Abdoel, 60
Mulder, Niels, 109
munafik, "hypocracy," 97, 162

Naim, Mochtar, 17, 21, 62
nature, 18, 48
  alam terkebang jadi guru, "unfolding nature becomes the teacher", 48, 50
  Genesis, 106
  Model for martil arts, 48
Navis, A.A., 16, 42, 69, 207
Ng, C. , 16
Nor, M. A., 17
"nostalgia," *rindu*, 175–182
Nufandi, R., 139

Oatley, K., 92
Oetomo, Dede, 39
"offended," *tersinggung*, 146–150

Pak, O–K., 16
pattern number, 54–55
Patwardhan, 92
Pauka, K., 17
Peletz, M. G., 187, 208, 214
personality, *see* folk psychology
Pfaff, G., 85
Phillips, N., 16
Poedjosoedarmo, 90
Prawitasari, J. E., 33, 90
presidents of Indonesia compared, 71–72

Prindiville, J. C., 16
psychologists' approach, 3
punishments, 132–134

Quinn, Naomi, 44, 45

rasa theory, 10, 91–96, 215–219
  and television, 94–95
  and *tersentuh*, "touched", 94
  end and way stations, 215–219
Rashomon Effect, 209, 211
rasa jo pareso, "emotion and reason," 55–58, 98, 190, 193, 207
registers, *see* speech levels
regulating emotion
  ring stones, 100–102
  levels of speech, 96–100
Reid, A., 75
research
  cognitive maps, 118
  defining the realm, 113–118
  ethical considerations, 41–42
  first stage of the research (1983–6), 20–26
  key words, 119–120
  learning how to ask, 36
  second stage of the research (2000, 2001), 26–42
  subject selection, 40–41
  translation solutions, 37–39
  unexpected directions, 18
  video taping, 37
  whose voice?, 27
ring stones, 100–102
Rohsenow, J. S., 53
Rosaldo, Michelle, 2, 20, 214
Rosen, L., 195

Salah Asuhan, 60–61
Sanday, P.R., 16, 18
Schechner, R., 91, 92
Scherer, K., 29, 58
Schmidtgall-Tellinga, A. E., *see* Stevens, A.M.
Schwartz, Susan L., 91
semangat, "soul matter," 75–79, 124
senses, 56
Shadily, H., *see* Echols
"shame,", *malu*, 127–142
  in "fear" cluster, 142
Shaver, P., 115, 195
Shin, Eui Hang, 53
shunning, 133
Shweder, R.A., 92
Siegel, J. T., 185, 187
Simons, R. G., 85–87
smiles, 109–111
Smith, Emerson, 32
soul matter, see *semangat*
speech levels regulating emotion, 96–100
Spradley, J. P., 31
Stanger, P., 91
startle (*latah*), 85–86
Stearns, C.Z. and Stearns, P. N., 48, 108
Sterne, Laurence, 107
Stevens, A. M., 174, 195, 206
stone lore, 100–102
Strauss, C., 44, 45
Summerfield, A. and J., 16
"surprise," *terkejut*, 170–174
Syahrizal, 34

Tangney, J. P., 127
Tanner, Nancy M., 16
Thomas, R. M., 16, 48
Throop, C. J., 69, 219
Torab, A., 185
translation solutions, 37–39
trickster tales, 72–73

Vellinga, M., 17

water buffalo fights, 65, 72–3
way stations, see *rasa* theory
Wellenkamp, Jane, 3, 30
  see also Hollan, Douglas
Whalley, L. A., 16
White, Geoffrey, 3, 48
Whiting, R., 215

Widodo, Amrih, 39
Wierzbicka, Anna, 4, 181
Winzeler, R. L., 85, 87
wisdom, importance of, 19
"wisdom of the rice," *ilmu padi*, 11, 12, 51–53
Wolff, John U., 39, 90
Woodward, M., 8, 187
Wundt, W., 47

Zulkarnaini, Drs., 17, 42, 137